

AN ANALYSIS OF SOME FEATURES OF INDIAN ENGLISH ;

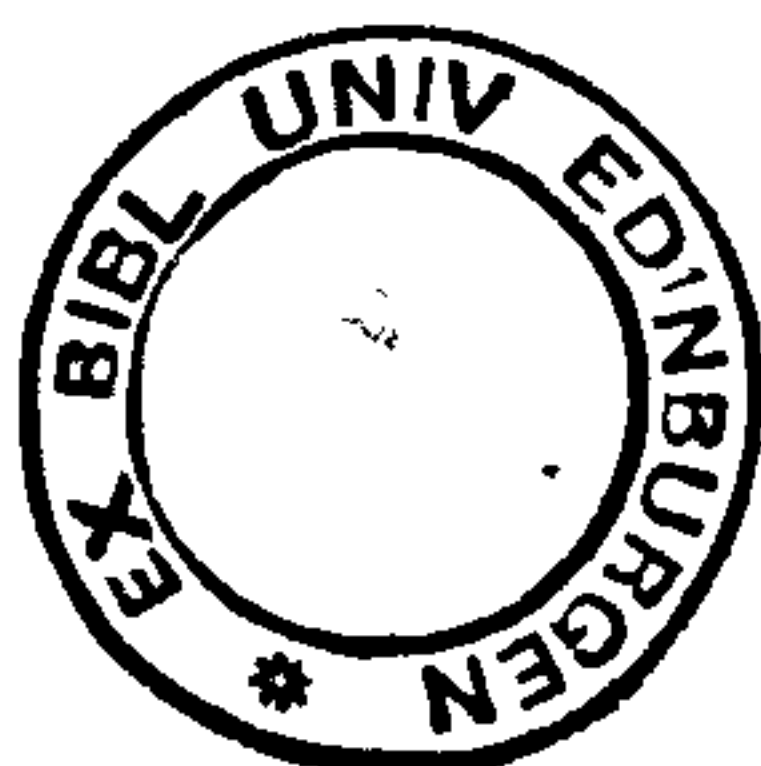
A STUDY IN LINGUISTIC METHOD

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Arts  
of the University of Edinburgh for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY

BRAJ BEHARI KACHRU

EDINBURGH, December, 1961



**BEST COPY  
AVAILABLE**

**Variable print  
quality**

# ERRATA

Page No.	Line No.	Incorrect	Correct
14			Read footnote no. 5 in place of 4 and 4 in place of 5.
16	18-19	"one or more language"	"one language"
51	14	"for either sort"	"of either sort"
67	16	"namaste" <sup>e</sup>	"namaste"
136	12	"hyphynated"	"hyphenated"
148	7	"in IE and BE"	"in IE or BE"
155	4	"motiyamda"	"motiyāṁdā"
"	9	"bhaiya"	"bhaiyā"
"	13	"gōyatha"	"goyathā"
16"	16	"varnasankar"	"varṇasaṅkara"
"	3(f.n.)	"bathi me jā"	"bhaṭṭhī mē jā" <sup>h</sup>
"	4 "	"khana kaha"	"khanā kahā"
"	6 "	"kya"	"kyā"
156	3	"nemmtonne"	"nemantanna"
"	5	"mundan"	"muṇḍan"
"	7 and 12	"yajnopavit"	"yajñopavit"
"	8	"dōna"	"donā"
"	13	"shraddh"	"shrāddh"
"	14	"lanigoṭ"	"laṅgoṭ"
"	16	"annaprashan"	"annaprāshan"
"	18	"vidya-rambh"	"vidyārambh"
"	19	"pirhā"	"pīrhā"
"	20	"chōti"	"coṭī"
"	22	"bad-baxt"	"badbaxt"
164	2	"sanivar"	"shanivār"
173	15	"Vas Head"	" V as Nominal"
176	1	"V as H"	" V as N "
211	11 and 12(f.n.)	"	( ' + ' ) ( ^ + ' ) (cf. P. 180)
220	2	"recurssive"	"recursive"
282	1	"passed"	"poured"

## PREFACE

The role which the English Language has played in India, and the impact it had on Indian languages has been the theme of many monographs and Theses. There is another aspect of this contact of the Languages and Cultures; that is the influence of Indian languages and contexts on the English language in India. This aspect is interesting both as a linguistic study and as a cultural study. This is, perhaps, the first investigation in this direction, which attempts to study the English language in a language-contact situation in India taking into consideration Indian contexts too.

In the hands of Indians, the English language has acquired certain characteristics at all formal levels which make it distinct from other varieties of English, whether spoken and written as primary languages or secondary languages. In this study descriptive linguistic methods have been used in order to find the Indianness of Indian English as opposed to the Englishness of English.

The term "Indian English" has been used as a cover-term for the texts under discussion which are chosen from the upper point on the Cline of bi-lingualism (cf. 1. 5.3.), and could perhaps be called, alternatively, "Standard Indian English" or "Educated Indian English" for the purpose of description.

By Indian English I do not, however, imply an ontological status equal to those varieties of English which are spoken and written as primary languages.

The body of Indian English writings covered in this study is widely read by Indians as well as non-Indians, and most of the



writers included here (e.g. K. A. Abbas, M. R. Anand, B. Bhattacharya, K. Markandaya, R. K. Narayan, Raja Rao, B. Rajan, etc.) are considered representative English writers of India. I have extended the scope by including some "restricted languages" from Indian English newspapers and Parliamentary Debates.

This is not, however, a definitive analysis of Indian English, nor does it claim to be a complete survey of all the aspects of Indian English. I have only attempted to raise certain theoretical and procedural problems for which I have drawn illustrative material from Indian English sources.

I am conscious of the limitations of this work. The difficulties involved in it have been the greater because I am a non-native speaker of English. In this type of work a non-native speaker of English has both disadvantages and advantages. His disadvantages are that he himself uses Indian English and 'sifting' Indian English from British English in the source material was a major problem. All the Indian English formations were put to a test of "acceptance" or "rejection" by native speakers of English. (It was not easy because, as we know, two native speakers do not always agree!) He has advantages in the sense that he, as a non-native speaker, can depend on his knowledge of native contexts and, possibly, in a formal and contextual analysis, he is better equipped to relate formal items to the "contextual sectors".

The basic theoretical frame-work for this investigation has been drawn from the theory of General Linguistics which the late Professor J. R. Firth, Professor of General Linguistics at the University of London, developed from 1944. The idea of this study,

in its present form, came from him in 1958 when he was lecturing at Edinburgh University as a Visiting-Professor in General Linguistics. Most of this study is based on his technique of contextualization which, as he says, "is basic to my approach" (cf. his Papers in Linguistics XI).

I am deeply grateful to him for inspiring and encouraging me to take up this work. I was fortunate in that he took a personal interest in this project and in spite of his ill health, guided me in the earlier stages. I had many long and stimulating discussions with him in Edinburgh and at his house in Heywards Heath (Sussex). His sudden death in December, 1960 came as a great blow.

My greatest debt is to my supervisors, Mr. J. C. Catford, Director, School of Applied Linguistics, and Dr. M. A. K. Halliday, Reader in General Linguistics, Department of English language and General linguistics. I am sure without their guidance and constant encouragement this work could never have been completed.

The influence of Dr. Halliday's theory is apparent in the whole of this study - and some times even unacknowledged. I cannot adequately express my thanks to him for the personal interest he took in me and my work.

It is not, however, necessary that Professor Firth and Dr. Halliday would agree with my interpretations and views, which in some places are different from their views.

The background knowledge for this work was provided by my earlier training in Linguistics, as a Fellow in Linguistics (1957-58) on the Rockefeller Project at Deccan College Post-graduate and



Research Institute, Poona, under Dr. H. A. Gleason, Dr. Fairbanks, Dr. A. M. Ghatge. Later I had the opportunity to attend lectures of Mr. David Abercrombie, Mr. J. C. Catford, Dr. M. A. K. Halliday, Mr. J. Sinclair, Mr. P. Stevens (now Professor of Contemporary English, University of Leeds). Mr. Abercrombie was kind enough to allow me to attend lectures with the students of Diploma in Phonetics (1959-60), and provide me with all the laboratory facilities for my work on Instrumental Phonetics. Mr. Stevens supervised my Dissertation for Diploma in Applied Linguistics (1958-59).

I am greatly indebted to Dr. P. E. Dustoor, my former teacher and Head of the Department of English, University of Delhi, for the encouraging interest he has shown in this work. It was on his suggestion in 1958 that I selected Indian English as a subject for specialization.

My thanks are due to Dr. J. Ellis for suggestions and criticisms on Chapters 5 and 9. I should also like to thank Miss L. Criper, Lecturer in Phonetics, for many constructive suggestions and Miss Y. Keskar, Lecturer, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for helping me by many useful comments where Indian languages were involved. I am grateful to Mr. T. Hill of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, and Miss R. Hasan of the English Language and literature department (for foreign students) for their help.

This study was made possible by a Scholarship from the British Council (1958-59), which was later extended to 1959-60, and by research grants from the University of Edinburgh and Sir E. C. E. Trust.

B. B. KACHRU.

Edinburgh  
December, 1961.

## CONTENTS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

p 1

### PART I : THEORY AND METHOD

#### 2. THEORY AND DESCRIPTION

p. 40

#### 3. THE LEVELS OF DESCRIPTION

43

#### 4. THE PROCESS OF TRANSFERENCE IN BILINGUALISM

53

#### 5. RESTRICTED LANGUAGES AND LEXIS

57

#### 6. MEANING AND CONTEXT

73

#### 7. CONTEXT OF SITUATION

82

#### 8. CONTEXTUALISATION

89

#### 9. COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION

92

### PART II : DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON

#### 10. PRELIMINARY STUDY IN COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION

##### (1) THE VERBAL GROUP

108

##### (11) THE NOMINAL GROUP

132

#### 11. LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL TRANSFERENCE

153

#### 12. HYBRIDIZATION

160

#### 13. INDIAN ENGLISH FORMATIONS

206



14. SPEECH-FUNCTIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH	p. 233
15. INDIAN CASTE AND RELIGIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH	262
16. INDIAN ENGLISH IN INDIAN SOCIAL ROLES	277
17. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	286
18. APPENDICES	295
(A) Statement showing Languages in use in Law Courts (Reference 1. 6.7.)	
(B) Bibliography	

## OUTLINE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

- 1. 0 The problem and scope
- 2. 0 The corpus
  - 2. 2.1 Criteria for selection of material
  - 2. 2.2 List of Indian English texts
  - 2. 2.3. List of Indian English newspapers
- 3. 0 The term Indian English
  - 3. 3.1 Earlier use of the term Indian English
- 4. 0 A review of researches
  - 4. 4.1. Phonetics/Phonology
  - 4. 4.2 Lexis
  - 4. 4.3 Grammar
  - 4. 4.4 General surveys
- 5. 0 Bilingual and bilingualism
  - 5. 5.1 Two types of bilinguals
  - 5. 5.2 Restricted and unrestricted bilingualism
  - 5. 5.3 The Cline of bilingualism
- 6. 0 The beginnings of bilingualism in English
  - 6. 6.1 The diffusion of bilingualism
  - 6. 6.2 The impact of bilingualism in English
  - 6. 6.3 Literacy in English
  - 6. 6.4 Indian English Press
  - 6. 6.5 Readership of Indian English newspapers
  - 6. 6.6 Indian English in legislature
  - 6. 6.7 English in law courts
- 7. 0 The uses of English in India

### 2. THEORY AND DESCRIPTION

- 1. 0 Theory and description
  - 1. 1.1 Linguistic description
- 2. 0 Need of a technique for formal and contextual statements
  - 2. 2.1 Reasons for rejecting a purely formal method
  - 2. 2.2 Integration of formal and contextual statements

### 3. THE LEVELS OF DESCRIPTION

- 1. 0 Two problems about Linguistic statements
- 2. 0 Bloomfieldian approach to the levels
  - 2.2. 2.1 Limitations of Bloomfieldian approach
- 3. 0 British approach to the levels
  - 3. 3.1 Hierarchy of the levels
  - 3. 3.2 Grammar and lexis as formal levels
  - 3. 3.3 Status of phonetics
- 4. 0 The approach of the Transformative Generative School
- 5. 0 Levels and rank



#### 4. THE PROCESS OF TRANSFERENCE IN BILINGUALISM

- 1. 0 Operation of Indian English in India
  - 1. 1.1 Transfer or transference
- 2. 0 Direction of transference
  - 2. 2.1 Transfer of contexts
  - 2. 2.2 Transfer of speech-functions
  - 2. 2.3 Transfer of formal items
  - 2. 2.4 Transfer of meaning from L1 to L2 items
- 3. 0 Inter level of context

#### 5. RESTRICTED LANGUAGES AND LEXIS

- 1. 0 Implications of formal and contextual statements
  - 1. 1.1 Starting point for a contextual statement
- 2. 0 Types of linguistic statement
  - 2. 2.1 'Demarcation' of restricted languages
- 3. 0 Restricted language
  - 3. 3.1 Features of a restricted language
  - 3. 3.2 Contextual sectors and restricted languages
- 4. 0 Language-types
  - 4. 4.1 Further demarcation of a restricted language
  - 4. 4.2 Registers
  - 4. 4.3 'Styles' in restricted languages
  - 4. 4.4 Style differences and contextual differences
  - 4. 4.5 Formal differences and restricted languages
- 5. 0 Speech-functions
  - 5. 5.1 Features of speech-functions
  - 5. 5.2 Three terms for demarcation of language-types
- 6. 0 Earlier use of restricted language, register, style
  - 6. 6.1 Problems in grouping
  - 6. 6.2 Demarcations of Indian English
- 7. 0 Restricted languages and an individual
  - 7. 7.1 Register range and register choice
  - 7. 7.2 Registers and translation
  - 7. 7.3 'Confusion' of registers
- 8. 0 Functional delimitation not determined by thought
  - 8. 8.1 'Structuring' of restricted languages and contexts
- 9. 0 Collocation
  - 9. 9.1 Status of collocation
  - 9. 9.2 The term set
  - 9. 9.3 Range of 'collocate'
  - 9. 9.4 Association and mutual expectancy
  - 9. 9.5 Association; formally determined
  - 9. 9.6 Mutual expectancy; contextually determined
  - 9. 9.7 Relation of collocation with form and content
  - 9. 9.8 Uninterrupted and interrupted collocations
  - 9. 9.9 Classification of collocations

## 6. MEANING AND CONTEXT

- 1. 0 Use of Meaning as a technical term
  - 1. 1.1 Bloomfieldian use of meaning
- 2. 0 Firthian use of meaning
  - 2. 2.1 Emphasis on function of language
  - 2. 2.2 Central and marginal meaning
  - 2. 2.3 The problems in accepting central meaning

## 7. CONTEXT OF SITUATION

- 1. 0 Introduction
  - 1. 1.1 Hierarchy of techniques
  - 1. 1.2 Meaning :
- 2. 0 Situation and levels
  - 2. 2.1 Statements of meaning
- 3. 0 History of the term context of situation
  - 3. 3.1 Malinowski's use of the term
  - 3. 3.2 Firthian use of the term
  - 3. 3.3 Utterance and 'result'
  - 3. 3.4 Mutually expectant interrelations of elements
  - 3. 3.5 'Situation' and context of situation
- 4. 0 Classification for context of situation
  - 4. 4.1 Categories for context of situation
  - 4. 4.2 "Creative effect" as a link with context of situation

## 8. CONTEXTUALISATION

- 1. 0 Contextual substitution : textual substitution
- 2. 0 Contextual sectors : contextual parameters
- 3. 0 Contextual parameters and situation

## 9. COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION

- 1. 0 The term comparison
- 2. 0 Dimensions of a linguistic statement
  - 2. 2.1 Comparative philology and comparative linguistics
- 3. 0 Comparison and 'universal' categories
  - 3. 3.1 Methodology of comparative statements
- 4. 0 Purposes of comparison
  - 4. 4.1 Theory of comparison
- 5. 0 The levels of comparison
  - 5. 5.1 Contextual comparison
  - 5. 5.2 Comparison and 'varieties' of a language
  - 5. 5.3 Comparison of norm and variety



## 10. PRELIMINARY STUDY IN COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION

### (1) THE VERBAL GROUP

1. 0 Introduction
  1. 1.1 The text under discussion
2. 0 The verbal group
  2. 2.1 Primary classes of the verbal group
  2. 2.2 The frequency of finite and non-finite verbs
  2. 2.3 Verbal group and clause classes
3. 0 The forms of finite verb
4. 0 Extension of verbal group
  4. 4.1 Deviations in extension
5. 0 Adjunct as an inserted item
  5. 5.1 Restrictions on inserted items
  5. 5.2 Frequency of inserted items
  5. 5.3 Grammatical ranks of inserted items
6. 0 Correlative categories
  6. 6.1 Frequency of marked members of correlative categories
7. 0 Interrogative
  7. 7.1 Modals in interrogative
8. 0 Negative forms
  8. 8.1 Modals preceding the negators
  8. 8.2 Pre-verbs in negative structures
  8. 8.3 Interrogative negative
9. 0 Passive
10. 0 Preterite
11. 0 Continuous
12. 0 Perfect
13. 0 Modalised
  13. 13.1 Deviations in modals
  13. 13.2 Table showing the frequency of modals
  13. 13.3 Register differences in modals
  13. 13.4 Table showing comparison of modals in the registers
14. 0 Pro-verbs
  14. 14.1 Elements of non-finite verbal group
  14. 14.2 The classes of non-finite verbal group
15. 0 Infinitive forms
  15. 15.1 Infinitive as nominal
  15. 15.2 Infinitive as predicator in clause structure
  15. 15.3 Infinitive as predicator 2
  15. 15.4 Table showing frequency of infinitive in different positions
16. 0 Present participle
  16. 16.1 Present participle as nominal
  16. 16.2 Position of present participle in nominal group
  16. 16.3 Present participle as predicate in clause structure
  16. 16.4 Present participle as predicate 2 in clause structure
17. 0 Phrasal verbs
  17. 17.1 Table showing the postpositions in phrasal verbs
18. 0 Summary of the verbal group



## (11) THE NOMINAL GROUP

- 19. 0 The nominal group
  - 19. 19.1 Modifiers and qualifiers
  - 19. 19.2 Elements of a nominal group
- 20. 0 Maximum extension of modifiers
  - 20. 20.1 The secondary structures of modifier
  - 20. 20.2 The nominal group in subject and complement position
- 21. 0 The corpus
  - 21. 21.1 The frequency of pronouns
  - 21. 21.2 Table showing frequency of forms of pronouns
- 22. 0 Unqualified nominal groups
- 23. 0 Modifiers
- 24. 0 Grading of modifiers
  - 24. 24.1 Table showing the grading of modifiers
  - 24. 24.2 Items operating in D position
  - 24. 24.3 Table showing items which fill D position
  - 24. 24.4 The articles as modifiers
  - 24. 24.5 The variations in two texts
  - 24. 24.6 Possessive noun as modifier
  - 24. 24.7 The verb as modifier
    - 24. 24.7.1 Present participle
    - 24. 24.7.2  $V_n$
- 25. 0 Qualifiers
  - 25. 25.1 Qualifiers introduced by prepositions
  - 25. 25.2  $P^I$  and  $P^V$  as Qualifier
    - 25. 25.2.1 Frequency of  $P^I$  and  $P^V$
    - 25. 25.2.2 Interpretation of  $P^I$  and  $P^V$
  - 25. 25.3 Relative clauses as Qualifiers
    - 25. 25.3.1 W-words as Qualifiers
- 26. 0 Co-ordinate constructions
  - 26. 26.1 The structures of co-ordinate constructions
  - 26. 26.2 Table showing frequency of structures of co-ordinate constructions
  - 26. 26.3 The differences in co-ordinate constructions
- 27. 0 Nominal groups in apposition
  - 27. 27.1 Criteria for separating appositive items
- 28. 0 Summary of the nominal group

## 11. LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL TRANSFERENCE

- 1. 0 Interference
- 2. 0 Transference and Translation
  - 2. 2.1 Transference
  - 2. 2.2 Translation
  - 2. 2.3 Types of translation
- 3. 0 Rank-bound translation
  - 3. 3.1 Calques
- 4. 0 Elaborated adaptation
- 5. 0 'Shunting' in translation
  - 5. 5.1 Main aim in translation
- 6. 0 Unconscious and conscious translation
  - 6. 6.1 Translation and Indian contexts
  - 6. 6.2 Table showing contextual classification

## 12. HYBRIDIZATION

1. 0 Types of deviation
  1. 1.1 Indian source item : non-Indian source item
2. 0 Hybrid-forms
  2. 2.1 Elements of a hybrid-form
  2. 2.2 (Hybrid) collocation
  2. 2.3 (Hybrid) lexical set
  2. 2.4 (Hybrid) ordered series of words
  2. 2.5 Members of ordered series of words
  2. 2.6 (Hybrid) reduplication
3. 0 Extension of lexical items
4. 0 Classification : formal - contextual
  4. 4.1 Basis of formal classification
  4. 4.2 Nominal "class"
  4. 4.3 Modifier Head relationship : Indian Head  
English modifier
  4. 4.4 Modifier Head relationship : English Head  
Indian modifier
  4. 4.5 Classification of modifier head group
  4. 4.6 Sub-classification on the basis of NN type :  
AN type.
5. 0 NN Type
  5. 5.1 AN type
  5. 5.2 -ing H type
  5. 5.3  $V^d$  or  $V^n$  type
  5. 5.4 String formations
6. 0 Second group : sub-divisions
  6. 6.1 Derivative N
  6. 6.2 Ing as Head
  6. 6.3 Agentive
  6. 6.4 V as Head
  6. 6.5 N and N
7. 0 Classification of Hybrid formations with  
derivative suffixes
  7. 7.1 English derivative suffixes and Indian lexical  
items
  7. 7.2 The suffix -wallah
  7. 7.3 Prefix of negation
8. 0 Necessity for contextual analysis
  8. 8.1 Indianisation
  8. 8.2 Indian and unIndian context
  8. 8.3 Classification of Indianisms
  8. 8.4 Table showing frequency of hybrid forms in  
different contexts
9. 0 Contextual classification
10. 0 Table showing Indian languages in Hybrid  
formations



### 13. INDIAN ENGLISH FORMATIONS

1. 0 Indianness of formations : compounds :  
collocations
2. 0 Distinction between collocation and compound
2. 2.1 'Formation' as a cover-term
3. 0 Problems in classification of compounds
3. 3.1 Criteria used for determining compounds
3. 3.2 Historical criteria
3. 3.3 Graphological criteria
3. 3.4 Phonological criteria
3. 3.5 Grammatical (semantic) criteria
4. 0 Reasons for rejection of stress
5. 0 Arbitrary classification on formal and contextual basis
5. 5.1 Formal grouping
6. 0 Change of rank in Indian English formations
6. 6.1 Use of formations without register restrictions
6. 6.2 Change of components in 'downgrading'
6. 6.3 Doubtful cases of 'downgrading'
6. 6.4 List of 'downgraded' formations
6. 6.5 'Downgraded' formations on the basis of tatpuruṣa compounds
7. 0 Uncommon collocations
7. 7.1 List of uncommon collocations : normal grammar
8. 0 Recurssive formations
9. 0 Endocentric formations
9. 9.1 Exocentric constructions
9. 9.2 Use of prefixes and suffixes for compounds for Indian contexts
10. 0 Formations determined by the contextual sectors
11. 0 Ordered series of words in Indian English
11. 11.1 List of ordered series of words

### 14. SPEECH-FUNCTIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH

1. 0 Contextual data and types of statements
1. 1.1 Speech-functions
2. 0 Two types of statements
2. 2.1 The defining-context
2. 2.2 Speech-functions and situation
2. 2.3 Relevant definable features of a speech event
2. 2.4 Contextual parameters for abuses and curses
2. 2.5 Localization of a text
3. 0 Contextual parameters for greetings
3. 3.1 'Blessings' and participants
4. 0 Structuring of modes of address/modes of reference
5. 0 Sub-divisions of abuses and curses
5. 5.1 Sub-divisions of greetings
5. 5.2 Sub-divisions of blessings/prayers
5. 5.3 Sub-divisions of modes of reference/modes of address



# 14. SPEECH-FUNCTIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH (CONTD.)

- 6. 0 Abuses and curses
  - 6. 6.1 Abuses and curses from masters to servants
  - 6. 6.2 Abuses and curses from parents to children
  - 6. 6.3 Abuses and curses addressed to women only
  - 6. 6.4 Abuses and curses used by men to men
  - 6. 6.5 Abuses and curses mostly used by women
  - 6. 6.6 Abuses and curses between two religious communities
  - 6. 6.7 Abuses and curses between shopkeepers/clients
  - 6. 6.8 Abuses and curses to ones own self
  - 6. 6.9 Abuses and curses showing (i) repentance (ii) friendship (iii) intimacy (iv) affection (v) consolation
  - 6. 6.10 Abuses and curses for threat and challenge
  - 6. 6.11 Abuses in jealousy (man/woman relationship)
  - 6. 6.12 Abuses and curses of neutral type
- 7. 0 Lexico-grammatical analysis
  - 7. 7.1 Table of collocations
- 8. 0 Greetings
  - 8. 8.1 Comparison of greetings
- 9. 0 Greetings and participants
  - 9. 9.1 Greetings for elders and so-called upperclass
  - 9. 9.2 Greetings for persons of equal status but elders
  - 9. 9.3 Greetings for superiors in status
  - 9. 9.4 Greetings used by prostitute/sycophants
- 10. 0 Greetings and other contexts
- 11. 0 Markers with greetings
  - 11. 11.1 Lexical sets in greetings
- 12. 0 Blessings/prayers/flattery
  - 12. 12.1 Inferiority/superiority relation
  - 12. 12.2 Maternal/paternal
  - 12. 12.3 Tradesmen
  - 12. 12.4 Wife-husband
  - 12. 12.5 Relations to bride-bridegroom
  - 12. 12.6 Neutral as to participants
- 13. 0 Lexical comparison
  - 13. 13.1 Collocations
- 14. 0 Modes of reference/modes of address
  - 14. 14.1 Sub-classifications
  - 14. 14.2 Inferiority/superiority
  - 14. 14.3 Professional
  - 14. 14.4 Caste/religion
  - 14. 14.5 Kinship
  - 14. 14.6 Flattery/affection
  - 14. 14.7 Neutral as to participants
- 15. 0 Presentence attention markers
  - 15. 15.1 Hybrid formations
  - 15. 15.2 Phrases
  - 15. 15.3 Extended meaning
  - 15. 15.4 Transference
  - 15. 15.5 New formations
- 16. 0 Conclusion

## 15. INDIAN CASTE AND RELIGIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH

- 1. 0 Caste and social differences in Indian Languages
  - 1. 1.1 Caste system and Indian English
  - 1. 1.2 Transfer at two levels
  - 1. 1.3 The uses of item caste or caste-system
- 2. 0 Classification of the formal exponents of caste register
  - 2. 2.1 Collocability of the item caste
- 3. 0 Formation used in caste register
  - 3. 3.1 Extended collocations
- 4. 0 Contextual items
  - 4. 4.1 Caste in business
  - 4. 4.2 Normal collocations but extended meanings
- 5. 0 Speech-function of abuses and curses in caste system
  - 5. 5.1 The qualifiers of nominal groups in caste register
- 6. 0 Preliminary quantitative classification of deviations
  - 6. 6.1 Table showing degrees of Indianness or "casteness" of certain items
  - 6. 6.2 Table showing Indianness of collocations
- 7. 0 Indian English and Indian religions
  - 7. 7.1 The item communal and its collocations
  - 7. 7.2 Indian English formations used in religious contexts

## 16. INDIAN ENGLISH IN INDIAN SOCIAL ROLES

- 1. 0 Social roles
  - 1. 1.1 Cultural 'grids' and social roles
- 2. 0 Demarcation of social roles
  - 2. 2.1 Social roles and contextual sectors
- 3. 0 Arbitrary segmentation
  - 3. 3.1 Social roles and formal levels
  - 3. 3.2 Sub-divisions
- 4. 0 Ceremonies and rituals
  - 4. 4.1 Individual
  - 4. 4.2 Social
  - 4. 4.3 Dress and ornaments
  - 4. 4.4 Food and eating habits
  - 4. 4.5 Contextual items
  - 4. 4.6 'Local colour' and contextual items
  - 4. 4.7 Marriage
  - 4. 4.8 Sub-grouping
  - 4. 4.9 Ceremony
  - 4. 4.10 Objects
- 5. 0 Attitude to widows
- 6. 0 Register of politics
  - 6. 6.1 Formations related to Gandhi
  - 6. 6.2 Other formations



## 17. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

## 18. APPENDICES : (A) Statement showing Languages in use in Law Courts (Reference : 1. 6.7)

### APPENDICES : (B) Bibliography

- A. General Linguistics
- B. Applied Linguistics (including studies on different varieties of English)
- C. Bilingualism
- D. Socio-linguistics
- E. Indian English and related works
- F. Theses : Dissertations
- G. Official Publications : Reports
- H. Dictionaries : Bibliographies

## ABBREVIATIONS

### A. Grammatical notations:

CG	Co-ordinate Construction
D	Deictics
E	Epithet
H	Head of a nominal group
K1	Clause
M	Modifier
N	Numeral
NG	Nominal Group
P	Predicator
p	Pronoun in base form
p <sup>1</sup>	Pronoun in second form (me, them, etc.)
p <sup>2</sup>	Pronoun in third form (their, etc.)
p <sup>21</sup>	(mine, etc.)
p <sup>f</sup>	(myself, etc.)
p <sup>v</sup>	(ourselves, themselves, etc.)
Q	Qualifier
RS	rank shifted
r	preposition
s	subject
t	article
td	the definite article
tl	the indefinite article
VG	Verbal Group
v <sup>f</sup>	Verb finite
v <sup>nf</sup>	Verb non-finite
v <sup>g</sup>	-ing form
v <sup>i</sup>	infinitive
v <sup>n</sup>	past participle form
vd	Verb in preterite form
X	auxiliary

### B. Lexical and Contextual:

BE	British English
C1	Native culture of L1 speaker (see L1)
C2	Non-native culture
C of S	Context of situation
CP	Contextual Parameters
CS	Contextual Sector
IE	Indian English
IEW	Indian English Writings
L1	Primary language
L2	Secondary language
LS	Lexical set
OSW	Ordered Series of Words
RL	Restricted Language
SF	Speech-function



C. Linguistic Works : Journals : Related books

Arc. Ling.  
Categories

HJ

IJAL

Lang.

OED

Papers

Studies

Archivum Linguisticum

Categories of the Theory of Grammar

Hobson Jobson

International Journal of American  
Linguistics

Language

Oxford English Dictionary

Papers in Linguistics

Studies in Linguistics

NOTE: We have used the initials of the titles of Indian English texts and newspapers as abbreviations in this study. A list of Indian English writings used as corpus is given in 2. 2.2. and 2. 2.3.

1. 1.0. The Problem and Scope. The present study has been undertaken with three objects in view. The primary aim was to study the English language in a language-contact situation in India, where it is functioning as an L2<sup>1</sup>, in the socio-cultural and linguistic setting of the Indian sub-continent; the second was to attempt to set up a construct for the contextual level in linguistics, which Firth<sup>2</sup> broadly termed, the "context of situation" (cf. chapter 7); the third was to provide a preliminary method for formalization of the lexical level in different "restricted languages" (cf. chapter 5) and "speech-functions" (cf. chapter 14) in a bi-lingual community, who use English as L2.

<sup>1</sup>The terms L1 and L2 have been suggested by J.C. Catford as abbreviations for the primary language and secondary language, cf. his "The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language" Studies in Communication Vol. 3. London, 1959, and further discussion in his "Applied Linguistics in the Teaching of English as a Second Language" Anglo-American Conference on English Teaching Abroad. Cambridge, 1961. It should, however, be made clear here that the relative status of a bi- or multi-lingual person's languages is difficult to establish. For most multi-linguals, one language is clearly dominant, in the sense that it is used with greater facility, most of the time, in the widest range of situations. The dominant language is the primary language (L1) - other languages are secondary languages (L2's). For some Indians, perhaps, English has equal status with an Indian language. Even so, there are important spheres of language use - notably in the private and emotional life of such persons where an Indian language is L1. For most, perhaps, English is clearly L2. In any case English functions as L2 and can for the purpose of this study generally be regarded as such.

<sup>2</sup>cf. chapter 7 for a detailed discussion on Firth's use of the term.



The material for discussion on the above two levels (cf. chapter 3) namely, the contextual level and the formal level, has been drawn from a limited - but varied - corpus of Indian English writings (Abb. IEW).

This, then, is an investigation<sup>1</sup> of the influences of (i) Indian languages and (ii) Indian contexts, on written English in a language-contact area.

The differences in IEW may result principally from two sources:

1. Transference from the primary language of writers<sup>2</sup>;
2. Differences in Indian cultural patterns.

This study refers to the two formal levels of lexis and grammar. Though the contextual level has been treated as a congruent level for linguistic statement, an attempt has been made to keep this level (which some might call the sociological level) separate. References to the contextual level have been made only when the text gives any formal exponent, which may be related to a "contextual sector" (cf. chapter 8).

This, in our view, has two advantages:

- (1) it contributes to our understanding of the extent to which the Indian contexts have "influenced" the English language;

<sup>1</sup>This does not include (i) the study of lexical items or loan-words of L1's in L2's or; (ii) the study of the foreign accent, i.e., the spoken form(s) of Indian English.

<sup>2</sup>There are, however, some scholars who do not subscribe to this view, for instance, P.G. French. See his Common Errors in English p.6. London, 1949.



(ii) it helps us to make statements about the formal "deviations", and their interrelation with the contexts.

1. 2.0. The Corpus. This investigation is based on the following sources:-

- (i) IEW, which include fiction, short stories, essays;
- (ii) IE, national and provincial newspapers;
- (iii) The restricted language of Fisheries, from the Proceedings of the Indian Parliament<sup>1</sup> and the British Parliament<sup>2</sup>.

An extensive study of IEW covering different "registers" (cf. chapter 2) was preferred to an intensive study of one or two IE writers. The idea was to attempt a preliminary survey of IE sources, and see what theoretical and procedural problems arise in a linguistic investigation of a "variety" of a language. A limited number of newspapers, of varied dates, covering different contexts, from different parts of India, has been included (see 1. 2.3.). The corpus included in this study has not been exhausted so far as the "Indianness" of the material is concerned. We have only abstracted a limited number of "Indianisms" to raise certain problems, or answer certain questions.

1. 2.1. In selecting the sources for this inquiry the

<sup>1</sup>Lok Sabha Debates: 1953, Vol. IV, No. 5, 7th April, Column 5211; Vol. VIII, 14-18 September, Column 3905; 1954, Vol. I, No. 1, Part II, p.28; 1956, P I, Vol. IV, Column 4421, Vol. IV, p.4223 and p.4234.

<sup>2</sup>Parliament Debate (Commons): p.881, 25 July 1955, Vol. 544, 1955-56.

following criteria were adopted for the IEW: 1. Religion; 2. Region; 3. Period of Publication; 4. Sex; 5. Restricted Languages.<sup>1</sup>

This investigation, then, includes:-

1. Religion: Hindu, 13. Muslim, 1. Sikh, 1.

2. Region:

(a) North of India - Allahabad, Ambala, Calcutta, Cuttack, Kashmir, Lucknow, Patna.

(b) South of India - Bangalore, Madras, Mysore.

(c) Central India - Bhopal, Bombay, Nagpur.

3. Period: Selected works from 1931 to 1961.

4. Sex: Men, 13. Women, 2.

5. Restricted Languages: The largest number of texts is from fiction and short stories; there are, however, two texts on history, one anthology of essays, and one history of education.

<sup>1</sup>The classification in 1, 4, and 5, applies to List No. 1 only.



## LIST NO. : 1

- Abbas, K.A. One Thousand Nights on a Bed of Stone, Bombay.
- Anand, M.R. Untouchable, London, 1935.
- Anand, M.R. Coolie, London, 1936.
- Anand, M.R. The Big Heart, London, 1945.
- Bazaz, P.N. The History of Struggle of Freedom in Kashmir,  
New Delhi, 1954.
- Bhattacharya, B. So Many Hungers! London, 1957.
- Bhattacharya, B. Music for Mohini, London, 1959.
- Bhattacharya, B. He Who Rides a Tiger, London, 1960.
- Bhushan, V.N. The Moving Finger, Bombay, 1945.
- Ghosh, S.N. The Flame of the Forest, London, 1955.
- Lall, A. The House in Adampur : A Study of Modern India,  
London, 1959.
- Lall, A. Seasons of Jupiter, London, 1958.
- Markandaya, Kamala. Nectar in a Sieve, London, 1954.
- Markandaya, Kamala. Some Inner Fury, London, 1955.
- Markandaya, Kamala. A Silence of Desire, London, 1960.
- Mukerji, S.N. History of Education in India, (Modern Period)  
Baroda, 1959.
- Narayan, R.K. The Bachelor of Arts, London, 1931.
- Narayan, R.K. The English Teacher, London, 1945.
- Narayan, R.K. Mr. Sampath, London, 1949.
- Narayan, R.K. The Financial Expert, London, 1952.
- Narayan, R.K. Waiting for the Mahatma, London, 1955.
- Narayan, R.K. The Guide, London, 1958.
- Ray, S.C. Early History and Culture of Kashmir, Calcutta, 1957.

Rajan, B. The Dark Dancer, London, 1958.

Rao, Raja. Kanthoura, London, 1938.

Rao, Raja. The Cow and the Barricade and other stories,  
London, 1947.

Rao, Raja. Serpent and the Rope, London, 1960.

Rau, S.R. Remember the House, London, 1956.

Singh, K. The Voice of God, Bombay.

Singh, K. Train from Pakistan, London, 1956.

LIST NO. : 2<sup>1</sup>

#### NEWSPAPERS:

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta,

The Assam Tribune, Gauhati.

The Bharat Joyti, Bombay.

The Free Press Journal, Bombay.

The Hindustan Times, New Delhi.

The Hindustan Standard, Calcutta.

The Hitavada, Nagpur.

The Indian Express, New Delhi.

The Mail, Madras.

The National Herald, Lucknow.

The Pioneer, Lucknow.

The Searchlight, Patna.

<sup>1</sup>In newspapers and periodicals a selection of "Indianisms" was made in a few copies of various dates in the issues of 1958-1961. It was by no means intensive and the idea was to illustrate certain theoretical points from IE material, and not to prepare intensive lists of Indianisms.



The Times of India, Delhi.

The Tribune, Ambala Cantt.

WEEKLIES: MONTHLIES:

India News, London.

Link, Delhi.

Orissa News, Bhubaneswar.

The Vakil, Srinagar.

1. 3.0. The Term Indian English. Indian English (Abb. IE) is used here as a cover-term, to refer to that "variety" of the English language, which is written and/or spoken by the Indians as their L2. This term has an eventful history and has been used, in other studies, in a sense different from the one in which we use it in the present investigation. The earlier studies reject the term "Indian English" mainly for the following reasons: (i) that Indians speak/write English as their L2 only;<sup>1</sup> (ii) that any reference to IEW as IE, implies a status equal to "the American language" or "the Australian language" which are used as L1's.

We have, however, no strong views about the ontological status of IE. The English language has been used in India by a very restricted minority - which is increasingly expanding - for decades, and the different Indian contextual and linguistic factors have helped in the development of an "idiom", which "deviates" from British English (Abb. BE). We have made no attempt to show whether that development is "new" or "vital" (cf. footnote no.1). At the phonological level, Indians, however educated, speak English with "Indianness" and now this spoken IE is being accepted as an "acceptable" foreign accent. In IEW an idiom<sup>2</sup> has been created which is Indian in the sense

<sup>1</sup>see H.A. Passe, The English Language in Ceylon (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1948). "There is no real analogy between language conditions in America or Australia, where English is the mother-tongue, and those in countries like India and Ceylon, where varieties of 'foreign English' are used as a second language, and it is hardly possible to expect the development of a new and vital idiom." p.401.

<sup>2</sup>The following remarks of Raja Rao, a well-known IE writer, in



that there are formal and/or contextual exponents of Indianness. These "differences", or shall we say, "deviations", are exclusively the results of formal and contextual factors and can be discussed in a linguistic framework. The factors responsible for the "differences" are not much different from the factors which justify the differences of Australian English or American English. We have to keep in view, however, that IE is used as L2 in contrast with American English and Australian English, which, to a large extent, are used as L1's.

1. 3.1. Earlier use of the term IE. The first group of Indian scholars, who used the term in our sense are: Anand,<sup>1</sup> Bhushan,<sup>2</sup> Dustoor,<sup>3</sup> and Jha.<sup>4</sup>

his Kanthpura pp. 9-10, are relevant in this context. "The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word "alien", yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up - like Sanscrit and Persian was before - but not of our emotional make-up. We are all instinctively bi-lingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it. After language the next problem is that of style. The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs. We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move we move quickly. There must be something in the sun of India that makes us rush and tumble and run on."

<sup>1</sup>Anand, M.R. The King-Emperor's English or the Role of the English language in the free India, Bombay, 1948.

<sup>2</sup>Bhushan, V.N. He uses the term Indo-English, which we prefer to Indo-Anglican. See his edited anthologies, The Peacock Lute, 1945, and The Moving Finger, Bombay, 1945. They are representative anthologies of Indian-English poetry, and Indian-English prose.

<sup>3</sup>Dustoor, P.E. "Missing and Intrusive Articles in Indian



We prefer the self-explanatory term IE to Indo-Anglican<sup>1</sup> and Anglo-Indian (which some writers have used for IEW) for the following reasons:-

- (i) that IE makes <sup>it</sup>clear that L1 speakers of Indian languages are using IE as L2;
- (ii) that the English language is operating in Indian contexts which are 'un-English';

English", University of Allahabad Studies (1954) English section, pp. 1-70; "wrong, usurping and dispossessed articles in Indian English" ibid. pp. 1-17 (1954); also see his Presidential Address delivered at the Seventh Session of the All-India English Teachers' Conference, Dharwar, December 1956. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting an excerpt from A.N. Jha's address at a Conference of English Professors, Playwrights and Critics, Lucknow, 1940. "May I in that respect venture to plead for the use, retention, and encouragement of Indian English?... Is there any reason why we need be ashamed of Indian English? Who is there in the United Provinces who will not understand a young man who has enjoyed a freeship at College, and who says he is going to join the teachery profession and who after a few years says he is engaged in headmastery? Similarly, why should we accept the English phrase mare's-nest, and object to horse's-egg, so familiar in the columns of the Amrita Bazar Patrika? Why should we adhere to all this when this all is the natural order suggested by the usage of our own language? Why insist on yet following though when in Hindustani we use the equivalent of but? Must we condemn the following sentence because it does not conform to English idiom, even though it is a literal translation of our own idiom. I shall not pay a pice, what to say of a rupee? Is there any rational ground for objecting to family-members and adhering to members of the family?... A little courage, some determination, a wholesome respect for our own idioms, and we shall before long have a virile vigorous Indian English." (from the Ceylon Daily News, 28.9.1940.) Passé, opcit p.405 reacts to it as: "But do not his examples suggest that he is advocating rather the standardization of 'incongruities and faults'?"

<sup>1</sup>See K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar: The Indian Contribution to English. Bombay, 1945. "I prefer the term "Indo-Anglican" to "Anglo-Indian"... I do not know who first coined the term "Indo-Anglican", at any rate, in 1883 a book was published in Calcutta entitled Indo-Anglican Literature, containing "specimen compositions from native students"... Further, the term can be conveniently used as an adjective and as a noun." (pp. i and ii).



(iii) that the item "Anglican" is misleading in the sense that it has a theological connotation connected with the Church of England.

IE, then, is suitable both linguistically and contextually and conveys both these "meanings".

We are making a distinction between Anglo-Indian writings and IEW. The term Anglo-Indian writing<sup>1</sup> has been restricted to that body of creative writing which has India, or the Indian contexts, as the central theme. We could, perhaps, restrict it further and say that Anglo-Indian writers are those non-Indian writers of English who use English as their L1, and have written about Indian themes, for instance, Rudyard Kipling, E.M. Forster, John Masters, etc. These writers "created" many formations for the Indian contexts, and borrowed profusely from the Indian language. We are, however, excluding them from this investigation since they do not fulfil the above condition (1).

We could then say: IEW is that mass of writing which educated Indians write as their L2. At the outset this raises another question; how much competence is necessary in the L2 for inclusion in this class? Do we include grammatical "deviations", or what Passé and Goffin<sup>2</sup> term "ignorant English", in our IE corpus? This is a difficult question to answer

<sup>1</sup>This use differs from Bhupal Singh's use of the term (see opcit. p.1 and 306.) and is more in the sense of Iyengar.  
<sup>2</sup>Passé op. cit. , and Goffin, R.C., Some Notes on Indian English, S.P.E. Tract No. XLI.



because it involves:-

- (i) the problem of choosing a criteria for selection.
- (ii) the problem of measurement of competence in L2.

We have discussed these points in the following section (cf. especially The Cline of Bi-lingualism, 1. 5.3.). At this stage we could perhaps answer that practically all the formal items included in the present study are from the texts of IE writers from or above the central point on the Cline of bi-lingualism.<sup>1</sup>

1. 4.0. A Review of Researches. The earlier studies in the linguistic aspects of IE may be divided into the following four heads:- (i) Phonetics/Phonology; (ii) Lexis; (iii) Grammar; and (iv) General Studies.

1. 4.1. Phonetics/Phonology. Srikantaiya,<sup>2</sup> Lahiri,<sup>3</sup> Kelkar,<sup>4</sup> and Hill<sup>5</sup> have published monographs or papers which discuss regional or, broadly, general characteristics of IE.

<sup>1</sup>If we imagine a scale of degrees of bilingualism, running from absolute monolingualism at one end, through varying degrees of bi-lingualism, to absolute ambi-lingualism (equal use and facility in two languages) at the other end, then we might say that all our writers (at least in fiction) could be put high on this scale, approaching ambi-lingualism.

<sup>2</sup>Srikantaiya, T.N. "English as the Karnadiga speaks it", The Bulletin of Phonetic Studies (The University Phonetic Association, Mysore) No. 1, October, 1940.

<sup>3</sup>Lahiri, K.C. "Peculiarities in Spoken English of Indians and the Question of a Standard for them." (The Research Bulletin (Arts) of the University of the Punjab, S. No. XIX, (III) 1956.

<sup>4</sup>Kelkar, A.R. "Marathi English - A study in foreign accent." Word, Vol. 13, No. 2. (1957) p.269.

<sup>5</sup>Hill, L.A. "Pronunciation difficulties of Hindi speakers learning English", Teaching English, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1959, pp. 23-25.

1. 4.2. Lexis. The studies in IE lexis are of two types:-

(i) lists of those Indian lexical items which are used in IE registers of law, administration, agriculture etc., and have not been borrowed in BE.

(ii) lists of those Indian lexical items which have been borrowed in BE and are included in OED and other lexicons of BE.

In (i) we include Wilson,<sup>1</sup> Whitworth,<sup>2</sup> Yule, and Burnell.<sup>3</sup>

In (ii) we include Rao's<sup>4</sup> study of Indian words in English and Serjeantson's<sup>5</sup> short but useful account of loan-words from "Indian dialects" and the Dravidian languages. (cf. 17. 7.0.).

1. 4.3. Grammar. In grammar - or usage - Whitworth<sup>6</sup> has concentrated, as the sub-title shows, on "an examination of the errors of idiom by Indians in writing English", and "errors" include "wrong compounds" and "new words", even the loan-shifts. Whitworth treats formations like inter-dine, inter-caste, as "wrong compounds" on the basis that they represent "un-English" contexts, hence could not be accepted in the English language.

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, H.H. A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of useful words occurring in Official Documents relating to the Administration of the Government of British India. London, 1855.

<sup>2</sup>Whitworth, G.C. An Anglo-Indian Dictionary. London, 1885.

<sup>3</sup>Yule, M. and Burnell, A.C. Hobson-Jobson : A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive. London, 1903, hereafter mentioned as HJ.

<sup>4</sup>Rao, G.S. Indian Words in English. London, 1954.

<sup>5</sup>Serjeantson, M.S. A History of Foreign Words in English. London, 1961, pp. 220-226, and 233-234.

<sup>6</sup>Whitworth, G.C. Indian English. Lahore, 1932.



It is a good example of how an attempt is being made to separate language from the context in which it is operating.

Dustoor<sup>1</sup> has restricted his study to the use of the definite and the indefinite article in IE. In both the studies the difficulties are:-

- (i) we do not know which registers have been included;
- (ii) we do not know where the writers of corpus stand on the scale of the Cline of bi-lingualism.

1. 4.4. General Surveys. The general surveys include Goffin,<sup>2</sup> Mathai,<sup>3</sup> and Pearse-Smith.<sup>4</sup> These are short studies or monographs which discuss certain points of transference or other aspects of bi-lingualism (based on subjective impressions),<sup>5</sup> or collections of certain IE formations and "deviations" without discussing them in the proper contexts.

The main points made by Goffin and Mathai may be summarized as:-

- (1) a tendency towards a kind of Latinity,<sup>6</sup>
- (2) an excess of polite forms;

<sup>1</sup>op. cit.    <sup>2</sup>op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Mathai, S. "The Position of English in India" in British and American English since 1900. London, 1951.

<sup>4</sup>This is especially true of Goffin, cf. op. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Pearse-Smith, T.L.H. English Errors in Indian Schools.

Bombay, 1934. This is not a study of IE in the same sense as Goffin's, it is rather a manual for writing "correct" English.

<sup>6</sup>An Indian would prefer demise to death or pain in one's bosom to pain in one's chest. See Goffin, op. cit. p.28.

NB: Read footnote no 5 in place of 4 and 4 in place of 5.



- (3) a tendency of phrase-mongering;<sup>1</sup>
- (4) a desire for initialisms;<sup>2</sup>
- (5) a moralistic tone.<sup>3</sup>

Goffin also raises two "conversational" points about the spoken IE:<sup>4</sup>

- (i) their "curious over-use" of the opening "Well.....";
- (ii) their use of "no", where an Englishman would say "yes".

The reasons for the above (i), according to Goffin are the English text-book Reader, where the "dialogue" is amply treated or merely gain of time in replying. These are interesting speculations, perhaps worthy of further investigation. The second point has been raised by French earlier in another context,<sup>5</sup> and Goffin shows the same confusion we find in French. The explanation is purely linguistic; namely, that in certain

<sup>1</sup>Goffin gives the following examples of what he terms phrase-mongering:- Himalayan-blunder, nation-building, change of heart, dumb-millions, cf. ibid p.31. Mathai (see op. cit. p. 99) also gives the following additional formations as "un-English expressions":- to marry with, to make friendship with, make one's both ends meet, a pindron silence, which he says "may be met with in the speech and writing of even well-educated Indians."

<sup>2</sup>An example of initialisms is:-

"H.E.'s P.A. has written D.O. to the A.S.P. about the question of T.A.'s. The D.C. himself will visit the S.D.O.P.W.D. to-day at 10 A.M.S.T." This letter should read as: "His Excellency's Personal Assistant has written a demi-official letter to the Assistant Superintendent of Police about the question of Travelling-Allowances. The Deputy Commissioner himself will visit the Sub-divisional Officer of the Public Works Department to-day at 10 a.m. Standard Time."

<sup>3</sup>The moralism in the sense that Indians cannot keep God out.

<sup>4</sup>See Goffin op. cit. p.25.

<sup>5</sup>French op. cit. p.6. Also discussion about French's reference in Catford op. cit. "The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language", p.176.



languages, like Russian, Japanese, Indian languages, the selection of yes or no as answer depends on the relation between the question, and the facts of the situation. If both have the same polarity (both positive, or both negative) the answer is positive; if the polarity is different (e.g. question positive, situation negative, or the converse) the answer is negative. In English, selection of yes or no depends solely on the facts of the situation. If this is positive, the answer is yes, if this is negative, the answer is no.

The above short survey may give some idea how IE has been approached by others.

The study of IE is essentially a study of bi-lingualism or language-contact situation. It would be relevant if we discuss now the pertinent points of bi-lingualism, and extent of bi-linguality in English in India, before we proceed to the theory and method (cf. Part I).

1. 5.0. Bi-lingual and Bi-lingualism.<sup>1</sup> The term "bi-lingual" is applied to a person who can make use of one or more languages in addition to his primary language (L1) for "restricted" or "un-restricted" (cf. 1. 5.2.) purposes. The faculty of bi-lingualism (or multi-lingualism) may be acquired:

(i) through contact with the speakers of another language.

<sup>1</sup>Bi-lingualism is strictly applied to a person who makes alternate use of two languages, and multi-lingualism to a person who makes alternate use of more than two languages.

(ii) through books or teachers, without any contact with the native speaker(s) of the language.<sup>1</sup>

The faculty to use one or more language/languages with "effective" control is "bi-lingualism". The term bi-lingual (or bi-lingualism) has usually been restricted to the above (i). In this study we are extending it to the practice of alternate use of languages "acquired" through any process. Bloomfield defines<sup>2</sup> bi-lingualism as "native-like control of two languages". We think the emphasis "native-like" is not so important as the power to use a language for social-control or co-operation.

1. 5.1. Two Types of Bi-linguals. In section 1. 5.0. (on Bi-lingual and Bi-lingualism) we have made a distinction between:-

- (i) those bi-linguals who learn an L2 through "contact" with the speakers of another language;
- (ii) those bi-linguals who learn an L2 through books, or teachers without any contact with the native speaker(s) of the language.

This distinction needs further elucidation, since it is crucial in case of bi-lingualism in India (especially in relation with English).

<sup>1</sup>On the whole this would apply to the speakers/writers of English in India.

<sup>2</sup>cf. his Language p.56. London, 1935.



The bi-lingualism of IE writers and/or speakers has not developed in a language-contact situation, since in a geographical sense there is no "contact-area", nor is there a significant number of English L1 speakers.<sup>1</sup> In one sense, then, the bi-linguals of a language-contact situation would mean:- a group of bi-linguals who speak different L1's but the isoglosses<sup>2</sup> border on the area of each speech community and the constant social, cultural or economic contact turns them into bi-linguals. This may also happen when a vast number of L1 speakers migrate to another country and their L1 is influenced by the language (or languages) of the country, for instance, the Norwegians and Finns in America, and the Tibetans in India.

On the other hand, in India the English language was used as L2 in order to create English-speaking bi-linguals, who had (or have) no - or negligible - contact with the L1 speakers of English. The only equipment and "environment" of language learning they had was:-

- (i) half-educated Indian teachers;
- (ii) badly written textbooks;
- (iii) 'ungraded' English literature.

<sup>1</sup>There was, however, a small group of missionaries, officers, and teachers who spoke English as their L1, but they came from such different dialect backgrounds, with no technical training in language teaching that no "standards" of English have been formed by them. We are told that the population of English L1 speakers in India in 1931 was 319,349 (males, 195,989, and females 123,360), see Census of India 1931, Table XV : Languages Part I.

<sup>2</sup>We are extending the use of this term from dialect boundaries to language boundaries.

This situation is unique in the sense that a significant number of bi-linguals is "created" in India by "the methods" which are used in Europe to teach Latin and Greek. In India there are no constant "check-points" from which "deviation" in teaching or learning could be marked.

1. 5.2. Restricted and Unrestricted Bi-lingualism. A bi-lingual may make alternate use of one or more languages, other than his L1, for either restricted communication or unrestricted communication. On the basis of the "uses" of a language we may, then, have "restricted bi-lingualism" or "unrestricted bi-lingualism".

Restricted bi-lingualism is restricted in the sense that an L2 is used for specific purposes, for instance, (a) the language of administration, (b) law courts, or in some cases (c) the language of education, or (d) rituals. The above (a, b, and c) would include the uses of English in India, and (d) would include the use of Sanskrit in India, or perhaps, the use of Latin in certain parts of Europe. An example of unrestricted bi-lingualism is the use of Hindi in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc. - the so-called Hindi-speaking areas of India - where people speak dialects or "varieties" at home and use Hindi as a kind of common medium outside their homes. The bi-lingualism of a Hindi speaker in the above areas is of a different degree from that of a Tamil or a Kashmiri Hindi speaker. The latter would be L2 speakers of Hindi.

1. 5.3. The Cline of Bi-lingualism. Any investigation in



bi-lingualism has to face a fundamental difficulty: that is, how to "measure" the proficiency of an L2 speaker, and how to grade him in his proficiency of a language. This problem has occupied the psycho-linguists and the language test specialists without their having given any final answer.

The study becomes less involved if we accept that in bi-lingualism there is a "cline"<sup>1</sup> and that for any investigation the corpus must be restricted, not only in terms of the Registers, but also in terms of the position of an L2 speaker/writer on the scale of the cline of bi-lingualism. The cline of bi-lingualism may be explained as a scale on which the bi-linguals may be "graded" according to competence in speaking and/or writing a language as an L2. We could, perhaps, say tentatively that on this scale there are three significant points:-

1. the zero point.<sup>2</sup>
2. the central point.
3. the ambi-lingual point.

Point 1. is crucial in the sense that anyone who is above this point is ranked as a bi-lingual. This implies that a person has attained so much of proficiency that a native speaker "accepts" his language as "intelligible" at all the

<sup>1</sup>This term has been borrowed from M.A.K. Halliday, cf. his "Categories of The Theory of Grammar", Word, Vol. 17 (1961), section 2.2., hereafter mentioned as "Categories".

<sup>2</sup>We could perhaps say that the Indian examples given by Cecil Hunt in his Honoured Sir by "Babuji", (London), and Babujee Writes Home, London, 1935, are somewhere above the zero point.

formal levels. Intelligible here does not mean that he has "native-like control" of a language. It means that a person is able to use an L2 for what we call "effective" social control or co-operation in all social roles. That an L2 user is intelligible does not imply that he is ambi-lingual.

A user of L2 may be intelligible, or able to use a language for social co-operation, yet there may still be great influence of the sub-stratum; this may either be contextual and/or formal.

The zero-point is the "proficiency" which cannot be used for any social co-operation. When certain spoken forms of IE are termed Baboo English<sup>1</sup> or Butler English<sup>2</sup> we are, in a way, grading the person on the cline.

In order to answer the question of establishing the status of bi-linguals' (or multi-linguals') status of languages, Weinreich<sup>3</sup> suggests the following criteria:-

1. Relative proficiency
2. Mode of use
3. Order of learning and age

<sup>1</sup>cf. M.R. Anand, The King-Emperor's English. Bombay, 1948, pp. 16-26.

<sup>2</sup>see HJ pp.133-34: "The broken English spoken by native servants in the Madras Presidency; which is not very much better than the Pigeon-English (sic.) of China. It is a singular dialect; the present participle (e.g.) being used for the future indicative, and the preterite indicative being formed by 'done'; thus I telling I will tell; I done tell I have told; done come actually arrived. Peculiar meanings are also attached to words; thus family wife. The oddest characteristic about this jargon is (or was) that masters used it in speaking to their servants as well as servants to their masters."

<sup>3</sup>see U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact-Findings and Problems. New York, 1953, pp.74-79.



4. Usefulness.
5. Emotional involvement.
6. Function in social advance.
7. Literary cultural value.

These, as Weinreich suggests, are the criteria to establish the "dominant" language. One thing should be made clear here that the "dominant" language is not necessarily "the source of interference"<sup>1</sup> in speech. In many cases in bi-lingual situations in India - in relation to English - there are cases where according to Weinreich's criteria tests would establish that the dominant language, with maximum use, usefulness, and value (even proficiency) is English, yet the fact is that it is the relatively "unimportant" L1 which interferes at the formal levels. Weinreich's criteria of usefulness, emotional involvement, function in social advance, literary cultural value, may act as additional impetus in acquiring a language. ✓

We have referred to "intelligibility" in another section. There may, however, be no (or very little) unintelligibility at the formal levels, but still an L2 speaker may be completely misunderstood, or not comprehended at all. This may result from contextual unintelligibility, for example, if a contextual sector (cf. chapter 8) is absent in C2, and at the formal levels there is no exponent in L2 which could operate in such contextual sectors, mutual intelligibility would be difficult.

1. 6.0. The Beginnings of Bi-lingualism in English. In this section we are attempting a very brief survey of the

<sup>1</sup>cf. ibid p.75.

beginnings and the spread of bi-lingualism in English in India. The English Language came to India with the political occupation of the English, just as Persian and Arabic came earlier with the occupation of the Muslims. We can thus trace back the roots to 31st December 1600, when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a few merchants of the City of London giving them a monopoly of trade with India and the East. Their proselytizing and educational activities continued in a very limited and unplanned manner from 1600 to 1765. After 1765, the Company became a political power in India, and their attention was broadened from the education of European and Anglo-Indian children to a wider aim. In 1787, the Court of Directors of the East India Company appreciated the efforts of Rev. Swartz to establish two schools in Tanjore and Marwar for the children of soldiers, by encouraging him with a grant of 250 "pagodas" per year per school.

This was the initial stage, which might have left no mark had the discussion of 1835 not gone in favour of English: it was in 1835 when the highly controversial Minute of 2nd February was passed. At that time, there were clearly two groups of people. One was led by Charles Grant, Lord Moira, and T.B. Macaulay, who favoured the use of English in India. The other group, not very strong, was led by the Hon. H.T. Princep, who was against the use of English as a compulsory language, and termed the Minute as "hasty and indiscreet".<sup>1</sup> In his

<sup>1</sup>see Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839, pp. 103 and 105.



dissenting Minute he wrote: "The next step will be to transfer the professors allowance to teachers of English, and then will follow in due course the voting of Arabic and Persian to be dead and damned."<sup>1</sup>

On the side of English there was Macaulay, a powerful person with very strong views, who looked at the problem differently and aimed at forming "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern - a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect."<sup>2</sup> Referring to Sanskrit and Arabic he says: "I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value... I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one amongst them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."<sup>3</sup>

The Minute got the seal of approval from Lord William Bentinck, and on 7th March 1835, an official resolution endorsing Macaulay's policy was passed. This established firmly the beginnings of the process of producing English-knowing bi-linguals in India.

It should be mentioned here that Macaulay's hands were considerably strengthened by a small group of Indians led by

<sup>1</sup>ibid.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. p.116

<sup>3</sup>ibid. p.109



Raja Ram Mohun Roy, who preferred English to Indian languages for academic, scientific and national reasons. Raja Ram Mohun Roy's letter<sup>1</sup> to Lord Amherst, dated 11th December 1823, is of great importance in being instrumental in the introduction of bi-lingualism in English in India.

<sup>1</sup>The following extracts from Raja Ram Mohun Roy's above-mentioned letter give a significant clue to how the small group of Indians - educated in Western thought - were favouring the introduction of English in India. "Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience, their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement."

"... When this Seminary of learning (Sanskrit School in Calcutta) was proposed, we understand that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful Sciences, which the Nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world..."

"...we now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is clearly current in India..." He then gives some arguments against spending money on Sanskrit studies and continues: "If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature..." see Selections from Educational Records Part I, 1781-1839, pp.99-101. Also see A.R. Wadia, The Future of English In India, Bombay 1954. pp.1-13.



1. 6.1. The diffusion of Bi-lingualism. On the 9th July, 1854, Sir Charles Wood sent a Despatch<sup>1</sup> to the Court of Directors - which came later to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India - which led to the establishment in 1857 of three Universities, in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. By the end of the C19 the Punjab (Lahore) and Allahabad Universities were started. With the spread of Colleges and increase of Universities, the importance of English was rising, and in the early C20 English was formally established as the official and academic language of India. English thus became the "prestige" language, completely replacing Indian languages and Persian in all aspects. In the second decade of the C20 when the national movement was gaining strength, an anti-English feeling emerged, but strangely enough, the modium of the movement itself was English. By 1928 an influential IE press, and taste for English publications was created.

After the First War (1914-1918) there was a significant increase in the educational institutes and schools and colleges spread in the interior of India, and the bi-lingualism in English spread further among the middle and lower middle classes.

The following comparative statement of the publications in IE and Indian languages should make it clearer how the

<sup>1</sup>Historically the Despatch is significant in two ways; first, it emphasises the use of vernaculars instead of Sanskrit and Arabic, and second, it says "the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it." See op. cit. Part II, pp. 367-368.

bi-lingualism was spreading.

# THE STATISTICS OF THE PUBLICATIONS FOR 1928<sup>1</sup>

<u>Language</u>	<u>No. of Publications</u>
English	240
French	1
Gujarati	506
Hindi	79
Kanarese	85
Marathi	677
Sindhi	346
Urdu	83
Classical languages	101
Other dialects	25

In the following sections we have taken some recent figures to show the impact of English on different aspects of Indian administrative and cultural life.

1. 6.2. The Impact of Bi-lingualism in English. The extent of bi-lingualism in English may be judged by the impact of the English language in India on:-

- (i) literacy in English in different provinces.
- (ii) influence and size of IE press.

<sup>1</sup> see Sir Parker Edwards: Statement Showing the Statistics of the Publications for the year 1928 (Bombay) p.1. This statement seems to be incomplete as it does not include Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, and other languages.



(iii) use of English in the legislature.

(iv) use of English in the law courts.

1. 6.3. Literacy in English. If we take the figures of literates in India, that is, anyone with the School Leaving Certificate or equivalent, the following is the extent of bi-lingualism in English.<sup>1</sup>

population of India .. .. .	356,691,760
literates .. .. .	59,229,862
literates in English . . . .	3,796,408

The percentage of literates - with S.L.C. or above - in India is 6.41, and the percentage of bi-linguals in English is 1.06. The distribution of bi-linguals in English in different states of India is given in Table No. 1.

<sup>1</sup>The figures are based on the Census Report of India, 1951, as given in Report of the Official Language Commission, 1956, p.468.

TABLE NO. 1: SHOWING EXTENT OF ENGLISH KNOWING BI-LINGUALS<sup>1</sup>

States	Population	Literates	Literates in English <sup>2</sup>	% of column 4 to col.3	% of column 4 to col.2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Andhra	20,507,801	3,107,958	165,256	5.32	0.81
2. Assam	9,043,707	1,633,753	73,496	4.49	0.81
3. Bihar	40,225,947	4,921,634	263,625	5.35	0.65
4. Bombay	35,956,150	8,829,528	458,307	5.19	1.27
5. Madhya Pradesh	21,247,533	2,859,187	141,185	4.93	0.66
6. Madras	57,016,002	10,996,348	569,851	5.19	0.10
7. Orissa	14,645,946	2,313,431	63,178	2.73	0.43
8. Punjab	12,641,205	2,038,699	324,855	15.93	2.56
9. Uttar Pradesh	63,215,742	6,825,072	518,326	7.59	0.82
10. West Bengal	24,810,308	6,087,797	597,424	9.81	2.41
11. Hyderabad	18,655,108	1,708,308	99,033	5.79	0.53
12. Madhya Bharat	7,954,154	860,402	45,107	5.25	0.56
13. Mysore	9,074,972	1,867,492	131,319	7.03	1.44
14. Pepsu	3,493,685	418,797	38,022	9.07	1.08
15. Rajasthan	15,290,797	1,285,693	68,311	5.31	0.44
16. Saurashtra	4,137,359	764,107	29,072	3.80	0.70
17. Travancore- Cochin	9,280,425	4,307,360	162,170	3.76	1.75

<sup>1</sup>These figures are based on the Census of 1951. The figures for Jammu and Kashmir state are not available.

<sup>2</sup>Those who have obtained the School Leaving Certificate, or equivalent.



TABLE NO. 1: SHOWING EXTENT OF ENGLISH KNOWING BI-LINGUALS

States	Population	Literates	Literates in English	% of column 4 to col.3	% of column 4 to col.2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
18. Ajmer	693,372	139,210	18,260	13.11	2.63
19. Bhopal	836,474	68,335	3,611	5.28	0.43
20. Coorg	229,405	62,430	2,857	4.57	1.24
21. Delhi	1,744,072	669,073	162,678	24.30	9.32
22. Himachal Pradesh	1,109,466	85,509	6,776	7.92	0.61
23. Kutch	567,606	96,816	1,570	1.62	0.27
24. Manipur	577,635	65,895	1,638	2.49	0.28
25. Tripura	639,029	99,197	5,559	5.60	0.86
26. Vindhya Pradesh	3,574,690	217,809	9,628	4.42	0.27
27. Andaman and Nicobar	30,971	7,980	460	5.76	1.48

1. 6.4. IE Press. Table No. 2 shows the distribution of IE and Indian language newspapers according to states in 1959. The number of IE newspapers in 1960 has also been added.

It is interesting to note that in number and geographical distribution IE papers lead all Indian language papers, and in readership they command the highest circulation.<sup>1</sup>

1. 6.5. Readership of IE Newspapers. In 1959 IE newspapers continued to command the highest circulation. The total circulation of 999 IE papers of different periodicities was 39.97 lakhs<sup>2</sup> or 23.2% of the overall circulation of all papers, while of Hindi newspapers, which came next, the total circulation was 35.53 lakhs or 20.6%. The percentage increase of Hindi and IE in 1959 and 1960 is given below:-

Language	1959	1960
IE	9.0	7.3
Hindi	11.8	13.1

TABLE SHOWING LANGUAGE-WISE % INCREASES IN 1959

Language	%
Assamese	26.8
Tamil	18.3
Marathi	16.3

<sup>1</sup>The figures quoted in Tables are taken from the Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India, 1960 and 1961, and Report of the Press Commission, 1959, part III.

<sup>2</sup>One hundred thousand. This item is from Skt. laksha and Hindi lakh. Also spelt as lac.



TABLE NO. 2: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NEWSPAPERS ACCORDING TO STATE AND LANGUAGE (as on 31.12.59.)

State	English <sup>1</sup>	Hindi	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Kannada	Malayalam	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Sanskrit	Tamil	Telugu	Urdu	Bi-lingual	Multi-lingual	Others	Total
Andhra Pradesh	32	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	180	45	50	30	1	350
Assam	12	4	13	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	8	56
Bihar	34	105	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9	19	5	186
Bombay	383	104	-	-	517	4	2	387	1	7	3	1	2	49	124	63	38	1,685
Kerala	28	1	-	-	-	1	174	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	76	35	-	319
Madhya Pradesh	13	189	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	15	14	2	4	240
Madras	216	7	-	-	2	4	12	1	-	-	3	347	52	12	73	30	-	757
Mysore	62	1	-	-	-	212	-	8	-	-	-	4	1	18	26	8	5	345
Orissa	16	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	-	-	-	1	-	15	41	-	141
Punjab	63	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	165	52	117	-	567
Rajasthan	7	158	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	45	9	16	239
Uttar Pradesh	86	555	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	148	99	18	3	915
West Bengal	293	85	1	474	1	-	-	1	9	3	3	-	1	22	100	55	15	1,063
Delhi	309	146	-	4	1	2	4	2	1	15	1	4	4	139	76	25	11	744
Himachal Pradesh	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	5
Manipur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14	8	26
Tripura	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12
Andman/Nicobar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	1,555	1,439	14	510	522	223	192	401	78	172	12	361	241	627	767	467	115	7,651

<sup>1</sup>The figures for English newspapers in different states in 1960 are given below: the figures given below apply to the states in the above table in the same order: 39, 13, 35, 393, 27, 13, 225, 52, 14, 65, 5, 88, 303, 352, 3.

TABLE SHOWING LANGUAGE-WISE % INCREASES IN 1959

Language	%
Punjabi	15.4
Bi-linguals	14.7
Other languages	13.7
Hindi	11.8
Telugu	10.6
Bengali	10.3
Malayalam	9.3
English	9.0
Gujarati	7.7
Oriya	7.4
Urdu	6.9
Kannada	5.2

In 1960 the highest circulation (11.50 lakhs) was that of IE dailies. English continued to have the largest number of papers (1,647), Hindi being next (1,532). The highest combined circulation of papers of all periodicities was of English, e.g. 41.47 lakhs or 22.8% of total. Hindi papers came next with 35.83 lakhs, that is, 19.7%.

The above Tables give us some idea about the importance and impact of IE press in India.

1. 6.6. IE in Legislature. In Table No. 3 we have given percentages of speeches delivered in various languages during 1959, the statistics for other years are not available. The



TABLE NO. 3: SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF USE OF DIFFERENT  
LANGUAGES IN LEGISLATURE

Name of legislature	English	Hindi	Other languages
1. Lok Sabha	83.2	16.2	Urdu 0.4; Bengali 0.1 Telugu 0.1; Tamil 0.1
2. Rajya Sabha	85.0	13.1	Urdu 1.84; Malayalam 0.06
3. Andhra: L.A. <sup>1</sup>	10.0	N11	Telugu 90.0
4. Assam : L.A.	89.67	0.18	Assamese 9.97; Bengali 0.18
5. Bihar: (a) L.A.	5.0	95.0	N11
(b) L.C. <sup>2</sup>	27.67	72.33	N11
6. Bombay: (a) L.A.	50.4	3.2	Marathi 40.9; Gujarati 4.5 Kannada 1.0
(b) L.C.	89.6	1.7	Marathi 7.3; Gujarati 1.4
7. Madhya Pradesh: V.S. <sup>3</sup>	1.5	83.0	Marathi 15.5
8. Madras: (a) L.A.	52.4	N11	Tamil 42.2; Malayalam 5.4
(b) L.C.	82.2	N11	Tamil 17.6; Malayalam 0.2
9. Orissa: L.A.	5.0	N11	Oriya 95.0
10. Punjab: (a) V.S.	0.27	56.7	Punjabi 43.03
(b) L.C.	34.6	35.6	Punjabi 29.8
11. Uttar Pradesh: (a) L.A.	N11	100.0	N11
(b) L.C.	3.0	97.0	N11
12. West Bengal: (a) L.A.	50.4	0.5	Bengali 49.1
(b) L.C.	69.3	N11	Bengali 30.0

<sup>1</sup>L.A. is abbreviation for Legislative Assembly.

<sup>2</sup>L.C. is abbreviation for Legislative Council.

<sup>3</sup>V.S. is abbreviation for Vidan Sabha.

TABLE NO. 3: SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF USE OF DIFFERENT  
LANGUAGES IN LEGISLATURE

Name of legislature	English	Hindi	Other languages
13. Hyderabad: L.A.	5.0	21.0	Urdu 63.0; Tolugu 8.0; Marathi 2.0; Kannada 1.0
14. Jammu and Kashmir: C.A. <sup>1</sup>	6.0	0.5	Urdu 94.0; Persian 0.4; Ladakhi 0.4
15. Madhya Bharat: V.S.	Nil	100.0	Nil
16. Mysore: (a) L.A.	45.0	Nil	Kannada 55.0
(b) L.C.	35.0	Nil	Kannada 65.0
17. Pepsu: L.A.	2.7	33.5	Punjabi 63.8
18. Rajasthan: L.A.	1.3	98.2	Rajasthani 0.5
19. Saurashtra: L.A.	Nil	Nil	Gujarati 100.0
20. Travancore- Cochin: L.A.	19.0	Nil	Malayalam 78.0; Tamil 3.0

<sup>1</sup>C.A. is abbreviation for Constituent Assembly.



percentages show that maximum use was made of English in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, and State legislatures.

1. 6.7. English in Law Courts. In the appendix<sup>1</sup> we have given a complete statement about the languages used in the High Courts, Judicial Commissioner's Courts and Subordinate Courts; here, we have summarized the same statement. Out of ten part 'A' states, (i.e. Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal) English was used in all the ten in High Courts and Commissionaries Courts in 1955-56. In the sub-ordinate courts, the regional language and English were used. In the part 'B' states the position was as follows:-

1. Hyderabad: Urdu, except for judgements, Decrees and orders which are in English.
2. Jammu and Kashmir: English.
3. Madhya Bharat: Hindi, except for judgements, Decrees and orders which are in English
4. Mysore: English
5. Pepsu: Hindi and Punjabi, except for judgements, Decrees, and orders which are in English.
6. Rajasthan: Hindi, except for judgements, Decrees, and orders which are in English.
7. Saurashtra: Hindi, except for judgements, Decrees, and orders which are in English
8. Travancore-Cochin: Malayalam, except for judgements, Decrees, and orders which are in English.

### Part 'C' States:-

1. Ajmer: English
2. Bhopal: English
3. Coorg: English
4. Delhi: English
5. Himachal Pradesh: English
6. Kutch: Gujarati
7. Manipur: English and Manipuri; English for judgments, orders and Decrees.
8. Tripura: English
9. Vindhya Pradesh: Hindi, except for judgements, Decrees and orders which are in English.

### Part 'D' States:-

1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands: Court language is English, but at village and Teh'sil levels, Urdu is used for certain purposes.

1. 7.0. The Uses of English in India. The preceding sections give us some idea about the function of IE in the field of education, press, and legislature<sup>and law</sup>. We could, perhaps, summarize that Indians are bi-linguals in the sense that they are making the following uses of English as a subsidiary language in the Indian contexts.

1. Administrative. The uses for inter-provincial administration and central administration.
2. Commercial. The uses for commerce and industry.



3. Educational. The uses for teaching scientific, technical and other subjects.

4. Literary. The uses made by IE writers in IEW, which includes creative writings and provincial and national IE newspapers.

5. Social. The uses for conversation in (a) sophisticated Indian circles; (b) inter-provincial parties and gatherings; (c) phatic communion. This is not restricted only to the people, who speak different Ll's, but often people speaking the same Ll's use IE, considering it as the language of "cultivated" people or the language of "prestige".

These five uses of English in India have evolved five distinctive restricted languages of IE. In this study we are mainly concerned with the above 4. and 5., though references have been made to 1., 2., and 3. too.

In terms of the scope of the above uses a further division may be made:-

- (i) IE written by Indians, in India, for Indians.
- (ii) IE written by Indians, in India, for non-Indians.
- (iii) IE written by Indians, in or outside India, for Indians or non-Indians. These three types of writings vary in degrees of "Indianness."

PART I. THEORY AND METHOD.



2. 1.0. In linguistics any descriptive or comparative statement implies that the observable facts of a language have been studied in relation to a theory<sup>1</sup> and justify being used as a basis for description. Description, in the scientific sense, implies the derivation of descriptive categories from an underlying theory which in itself is a formulated set of theoretical categories and their interrelation.

A theory then helps us to establish "relationships" and brings in certain things which are "theoretical" as opposed to "observational". A theory is useful and valid if the statements can permit a renewal of connection with the material.<sup>2</sup>

2. 1.1. A linguistic description, on the other hand, is not a theory but is related to general linguistic theory. The basis of a linguistic description is that it relates the text under focus of attention to the "categories" which are finite and are provided in the theory.<sup>3</sup>

A description may be of two types:-

- (i) an axiom system with rules of derivation; or
- (ii) a form of equations which express the general relations

<sup>1</sup>It is another question whether all prevalent linguistic "theories" satisfy the scientific criteria of being theories and justify the description according to the underlying general linguistic theory. Some "theories" may turn out to be only "procedures" or "techniques".

<sup>2</sup>see Firth, Studies p.1. "A theory derives its usefulness and validity from the aggregate of experience to which it must continually refer in renewal of connection."

<sup>3</sup>Here it is useful to make a distinction between a method of description, technique of description and procedure. cf. Z.S. Harris, Methods in Structural Linguistics, p.1. "The present volume presents methods of research... it is thus a discussion of the operations... rather than a theory of the structural analyses."

among various parameters and variables.<sup>1</sup>

2. 2.0. An analysis of the bi-lingual situation discussed in chapter 4 involves both description and comparison, and needs a theory and a technique by which we can make linguistically relevant statements about the formal and the contextual levels of analysis.

2. 2.1. A purely formal method<sup>2</sup> has been rejected for the following reasons:-

1. It does not tell us about the function or operation of a language in situations;
2. It does not suggest any method for relating the form and the context.

The contextual factors which cause IE to deviate from BE become clear only after the formal exponents are related<sup>3</sup> to the context.

2. 2.2. An approach that would consider IE as a "language" functioning in a different context, integrated with the context of experience and the context of culture of the person/persons speaking and/or writing it has been preferred.

<sup>1</sup>see R.B. Lees, On "Description" (mimeographed).

<sup>2</sup>A method which claims not to take meaning into consideration at all, and to analyse a language on the basis of distribution of the formal items, for instance, Bloomfield, Harris, Trager, etc.

<sup>3</sup>"...strictly speaking, there are in the world no more 'relations' than there are 'universals'. Relations as supposed entities are reifications of words like 'father of', 'loving' or 'between', that involve two or more other terms in their logical form. Relational words do not 'stand for' anything existing 'between' the things related." (See Robins, R.H., "A Problem in the Statement of Meaning", Lingua, Vol. 3, pp.124-125.



We have also rejected (i) the analytical view,<sup>1</sup> and (ii) mechanistic structural view<sup>2</sup> for the reasons discussed in 2. 2.1., and have adapted the "functional" view as developed and modified by Firth. ✓

It has been found very useful as a theoretical approach incorporating "the whole man", living in society and his culture and personality. ✓

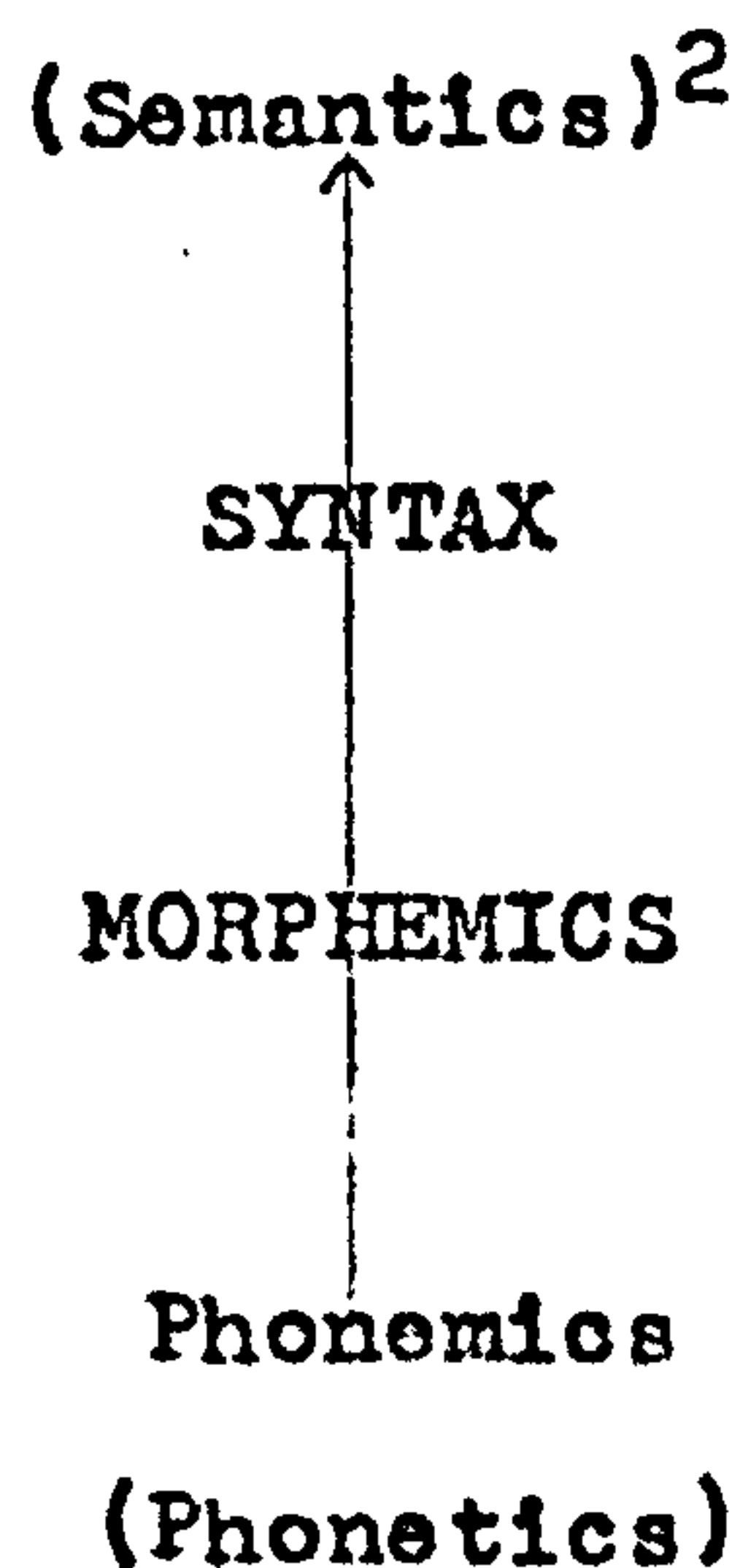
This aspect of Firth's theory has not been applied and discussed in detail during his lifetime.. His Prosodic approach to phonology has, however, been applied to many Indian and African languages by, what has been called, the "London Group of Linguists". That explains why, in the following pages, there is rather a lengthy digression on (a) the concept of C. of S., (b) its early use, (c) the Firthian use, and (d) comparison of Firth's approach with that of the mechanists and the mentalists.

<sup>1</sup>This is what Rulon Wells calls "dyadic" view of Ogden and Richards, as it is based on bi-polar relation between a sign and an object. See "Meaning and Use", Linguistics Today, pp. 115-129.

<sup>2</sup>see Firth, Panama, p.183.

3. 1.0. There are two basic questions which need an answer before any comparative or descriptive linguistic statement is made. The first is: What are the levels of analysis? The second is: What is the order of analysis?

3. 2.0. There is no final answer to the question: What levels are to be treated as relevant for a linguistic description? Bloomfield and his followers emphasise a progression of levels which proceeds from the "bottom" up in an ascending order. In their case, then, we might say, the levels of analysis and even the order of analysis is stated in the method. They intend to bring "simplicity" in linguistic description by "ascending levels of complexity of organization."<sup>1</sup> The order of analysis followed by them may be presented as follows:



<sup>1</sup>Trager, G.L. and Smith, Jr., H.L. An Outline of English Structure, Washington, 1957, p.81. See also p.8.

<sup>2</sup>"Semantics" is structure of meaning or so-called "meta-linguistics". Pike considers it "an unfortunate term, since the term "metalanguage" is best used in the traditional sense to refer to language talking about language;" Language, part III, p.78.



In this scheme the phoneme is the essential 'builder' and functions as the main factor for description at the other levels. Phonetics does not have the same status as the other levels, and semantics is out of the linguists' domain (cf. meaning and context). Hockett<sup>1</sup> has a distinction of basic levels and, then, a further sub-grouping of these: he says "in linguistics there are two basic levels, phonological and grammatical, each with sub-divisions." Bloch, Trager and Harris<sup>2</sup> broadly follow Bloomfield.

3. 2.1. The above approach is inadequate for the following reasons:<sup>3</sup>

- (i) there is no room for a "structural syllable", a "structural stressgroup" or "structural treatment of idioms";
- (ii) there is over-emphasis on the phoneme;<sup>4</sup>
- (iii) there is not adequate room for meaning as a primitive concept.

3. 3.0. The British group of linguists have no one view on this point. Firth treats level or levels of analysis as a theoretical term in his linguistic theory,<sup>5</sup> but in his work

<sup>1</sup>See C.E. Hockett, "A System of Descriptive Phonology", Language, 18. 3. 21. 1941

<sup>2</sup>see his op. cit. p.369. "each element is defined by the relation among elements at the next lower level."

<sup>3</sup>For Pike's view see his Language, pp.78-79. Also see Halliday, Categories, pp.28-36, section on 'The seven sins'.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Pike op. cit. "...in my view the morpheme has equal theoretical primitiveness with the phoneme. In fact, were I forced to give priority to one or the other, I would give it to the morpheme since it is here that the form-meaning composite is most easily seen..."

<sup>5</sup>see Studies, p.2.

there is no answer to the number of linguistically 'significant' levels. In his Papers<sup>1</sup> the term level is used with fifteen different items about which, as he says, linguistic statements may be made. In Studies<sup>2</sup> he makes it clear that level and levels of analysis are technical terms, with status in the general linguistic theory; if that is accepted, then we find two uses of the term 'level' in Firth:

- (i) a statement about an item which is not 'structurally' significant;
- (ii) a statement about an item at linguistically relevant levels which is theoretically significant.

In (i) we include statements about phonetic 'value', social, sociological, etc. which are really descriptions of elements not structurally significant. In (ii) we include those statements about items which are formally significant.

The levels mentioned by Firth are listed below:

1. Collocational;<sup>3</sup> 2. Descriptive etymology;<sup>4</sup> 3. Grammatical;<sup>5</sup>
4. Lexical;<sup>6</sup> 5. Morphological;<sup>7</sup> 6. Phonetic;<sup>8</sup> 7.
7. Phonological;<sup>9</sup> 8. Phonaesthetic;<sup>10</sup> 9. Phrasal stylistics;<sup>11</sup>
10. Prosodic;<sup>12</sup> 11. Semantic;<sup>13</sup> 12. Social;<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> see Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Studies, p.2.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Papers, pp.195, 197, 202.

<sup>4</sup> ibid. p.202.

<sup>5</sup> ibid. pp.24, 170, 192, 222, 227.

<sup>6</sup> ibid. pp.170, 222, 227.

<sup>7</sup> ibid. p.25.

<sup>8</sup> ibid. pp.24, 25, 26, 144, 145, 170, 192, 197, 198.

<sup>9</sup> ibid. p.170, 198. "though phonetics and phonology are on different scientific levels" (our underlining) p.145.

<sup>10</sup> ibid. pp.197, 198.

<sup>11</sup> ibid. p.202.

<sup>12</sup> ibid. p.197.

<sup>13</sup> ibid. p.25.

<sup>14</sup> ibid. p.183, 214.



13. Sociological;<sup>1</sup> 14. Syntactical;<sup>2</sup> 15. Word-formation.<sup>3</sup>

It should also be noted that sometimes Firth uses the term "mode" for the level.<sup>4</sup> He makes another distinction of (a) lower - or simpler modes<sup>5</sup> - or modes of meaning<sup>6</sup> and (b) higher level.<sup>7</sup>

The lower modes include: "the phonetic, prosodic, grammatical and collocational levels",<sup>8</sup> and then he adds the phonological level to the lower modes.<sup>9</sup>

The higher level is perhaps the contextual level. "It is, however, to be understood that though the presentation of the scheme of analysis is in an ascending order from phonetics to the context of culture, the total complex, including what may be called the higher level in the context of situation, is a first postulate."<sup>10</sup>

Then Firth mentions the level of 'diction'<sup>11</sup> under which he lists the different 'forms' of diction, i.e. ordinary, narrative, emphatic, oratorical, poetic, ritual.

The above 'levels' may conveniently be reduced to the following:

1. Phonetic

2. Phonological (phonaesthetic, prosodic)

<sup>1</sup>ibid. p.170.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. p.25.

<sup>3</sup>ibid. p.202.

<sup>4</sup>ibid. pp.197, 198, 201, etc.

<sup>5</sup>ibid. p.197.

<sup>6</sup>ibid. p.198.

<sup>7</sup>ibid. p.198.

<sup>8</sup>ibid. p.197.

<sup>9</sup>ibid. p.198.

<sup>10</sup>ibid. p.198.

<sup>11</sup>ibid. p.198.

3. Grammatical (morphological, syntactical, word-formation)
4. Lexical (collocational)
5. Contextual (semantic, sociological, social)<sup>1</sup>

There are some British linguists who would differ from Firth in ordering of the phonetic level relative to other levels.<sup>2</sup> Others would even dispute the status of phonology and context in the 'order' of levels.

3. 3.1. Firth rejects the hierarchical "direction" but accepts a "hierarchy of techniques"<sup>3</sup> by which "the meaning of a text is dealt with by a dispersal of analysis at mutually congruent series of levels, beginning with context of situation....."<sup>4</sup> and "the meaning of linguistic events may be, as it were, dispersed in a spectrum of specialized statements."<sup>5</sup> But, as he says, "we must remember what we are doing and how we are doing it, especially at what level or levels of abstraction and statement."<sup>6</sup>

Allen<sup>7</sup> accepts two levels, phonological and grammatical, and <sup>say</sup> the phonic data might be used for either a phonological state-

<sup>1</sup>Firth treats 'phrasal stylistics' as a level (cf. Panera p.202) which would, perhaps, be a useful term in application of linguistics to literature but it does not fit in the above five levels.

<sup>2</sup>For instance, M.A.K. Halliday, W.S. Allen.

<sup>3</sup>cf. Panera, p.183 "Descriptive linguistics is thus a sort of hierarchy of techniques..."

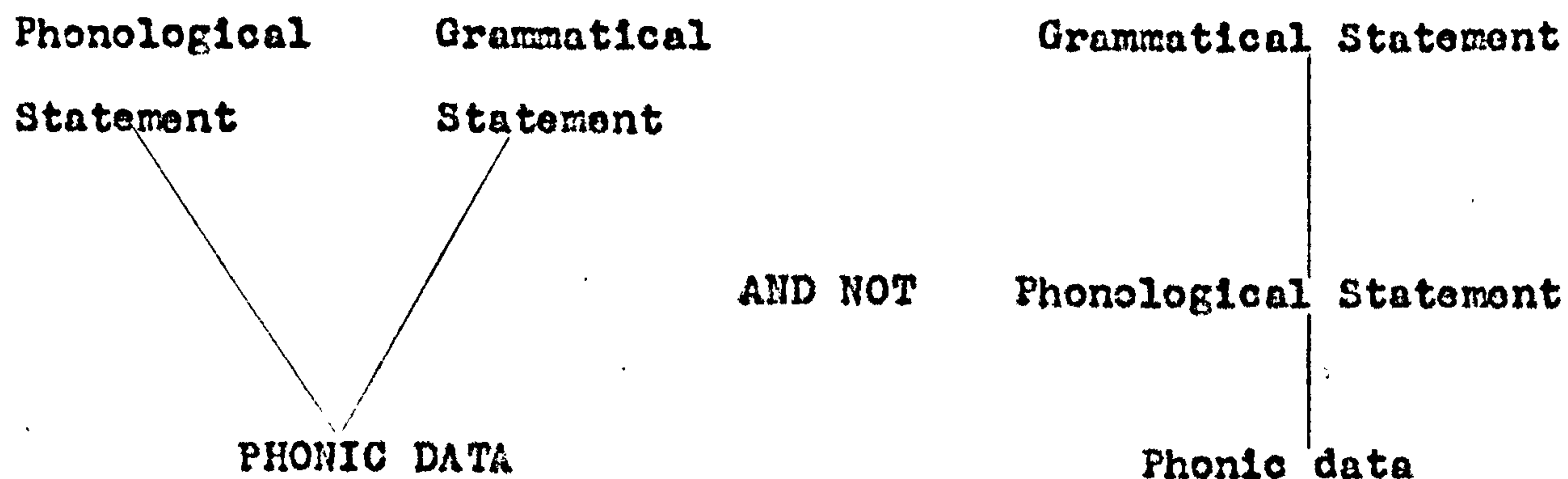
<sup>4</sup>see Synopsis p.30. <sup>5</sup>see Panera p.183.

<sup>6</sup>Synopsis p.29.

<sup>7</sup>Allen, W.S. Structure and System in the Abaza Verbal Complex, TPS, 1956. p.145.



ment or a grammatical statement; he declines the hierarchical view:



Palmer<sup>1</sup> suggests the following levels, and in a general sense accepts that there is a hierarchy: 1. Context of Situation; 2. Grammar; 3. Phonology; 4. Phonetics. The Context of Situation is, "delimiting and identifying the types of language, for each of which a different statement at all the other levels is required."<sup>2</sup>

Halliday's<sup>3</sup> view is basically different from the above. He introduces the concept of the primary levels which are further divided, the primary levels are: (i) substance, (ii) form, (iii) context.

- (i) Substance<sup>4</sup> may be 'phonic' or 'graphic';
- (ii) Formal levels are 'grammar' and 'lexis';
- (iii) Context is the meaning of an item in relation to extra textual features.

<sup>1</sup>Palmer, F.R. Linguistic Hierarchy, LINGUA, Vol. VII, 3, 1958, pp.225-241.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. p.241. <sup>3</sup>cf. Categories.

<sup>4</sup>If it is phonic substance it is related to form by phonology, and if it is graphic it is related to form by orthography.

SUBSTANCE	INTER-LEVEL	FORM	INTER-LEVEL	SITUATION
Phonic Substance	→ Phonology	→ Grammar Lexis	Context ←	Extra textual features
Graphic Substance	→ Orthography			

Phonology and context are "inter-levels"<sup>1</sup> in the sense that they relate the levels of form (a) to substance (phonology); (b) to non-language, the situation. Context is perhaps the relation of a formal item to extra textual features. The formal contrasts are to be found in "systems" which are the property of the grammatical level.

Halliday's approach may be summarized as:

- (i) it integrates all the "levels" and links them with form which is the highest abstraction; any statement is 'valid' whether it is contextual or phonological, if it is ultimately related to a formal exponent;
- (ii) it attempts to avoid the concept of the hierarchy of levels as it is understood by other linguists.  
(especially, cf. 3. 2.0.)

<sup>1</sup>Here Halliday differs from modern linguists on the "status" he gives to phonology in his "levels". cf. also Palmer "Linguistic Hierarchy", Lingua p.226. "In fact, it seems certain that two levels of analysis at least, those of grammar and phonology, are a feature of all modern theories of linguistics...".



3. 3.2. The classification of grammar and lexis as formal levels in Halliday, however, raise a theoretical question: has lexis the same "status" as grammar, or does one have priority over the other? In the process of analysis the distinction between a word and a lexical item<sup>1</sup> presupposes that we have abstracted our items after our analysis of the exponents of systems. We do not get our lexis, unless we have first worked out our grammar. The formalization of lexis seems to be a further step in delicacy,<sup>2</sup> not of the same 'nature' as grammar, and not also of the same 'level'. In the formal levels then, we feel Halliday has a hierarchy of 'direction' in which grammar has priority, and comes before lexis.

According to Halliday Phonetics is a distinct "but related body of theory"<sup>3</sup> of General Phonetics which together with linguistics make the linguistic sciences. Palmer<sup>4</sup> writes, phonetics is "the ultimate justification for the grammar and the phonology, since it provides the link with observable data, because only by having this basis in the phonetic statement can grammar be formal or linguistics scientific or objective."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Halliday makes a distinction between a word and a lexical item. The term word is used for a grammatical unit and refers to an abstraction at the grammatical level. A lexical item is a member of a lexical set or an OSW. at the lexical level. see op. cit. p.23.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. p.22, 7.4.. <sup>3</sup>cf. op. cit. p.3. <sup>4</sup>cf. op. cit. p.241.

<sup>5</sup>In America, W.E. Welmers has practically the same view, which is a deviation from original Bloomfieldian standpoint, "every detail of our phonemic analysis must be justified in the basis of phonetic considerations alone. See his 'Hints from Morphology for Phonemic Analysis', SIL, 5, 91-100, 1947.

ordered series  
of words.

3. 4.0. The Transformative Generative School reject the idea of hierarchy as it is understood now. Chomsky<sup>1</sup> divides grammars into two types, 'analytic' and 'synthetic'. An analytic grammarian would "proceed from the top down" (e.g. perhaps, Hjelmslev) and a synthetic grammarian would proceed from "the bottom up". (e.g. 'American' descriptive Linguistics). Chomsky says, "I cannot take a position, since I do not think that it 'proceeds' at all."<sup>2</sup> Chomsky denies the need to separate the levels. "The Linguist must use a mixture of phonological and high-level syntactic considerations at every point in grammar construction; the child does not learn the syntax first and the phonology later, or vice versa; I see little motive and less hope for devising a step by step procedure of either sort for justification of grammar."<sup>3</sup>

3. 5.0. In the above discussion we mark:

- (i) different views about the idea of the formal/non-formal levels;
- (ii) different uses of the term level.

The above (ii) needs further elucidation. The term level has not been used only for the formal levels about which statements may be made, but also for the units 'operating' in a particular level. This confusion is found both in American literature and British literature. Pike has 'clause level', 'phrase level', 'word level', 'morpheme level'.<sup>4</sup> Halliday

<sup>1</sup>Chomsky; The Transformational basis of Syntax (Mimeographed paper), pp.6-7.

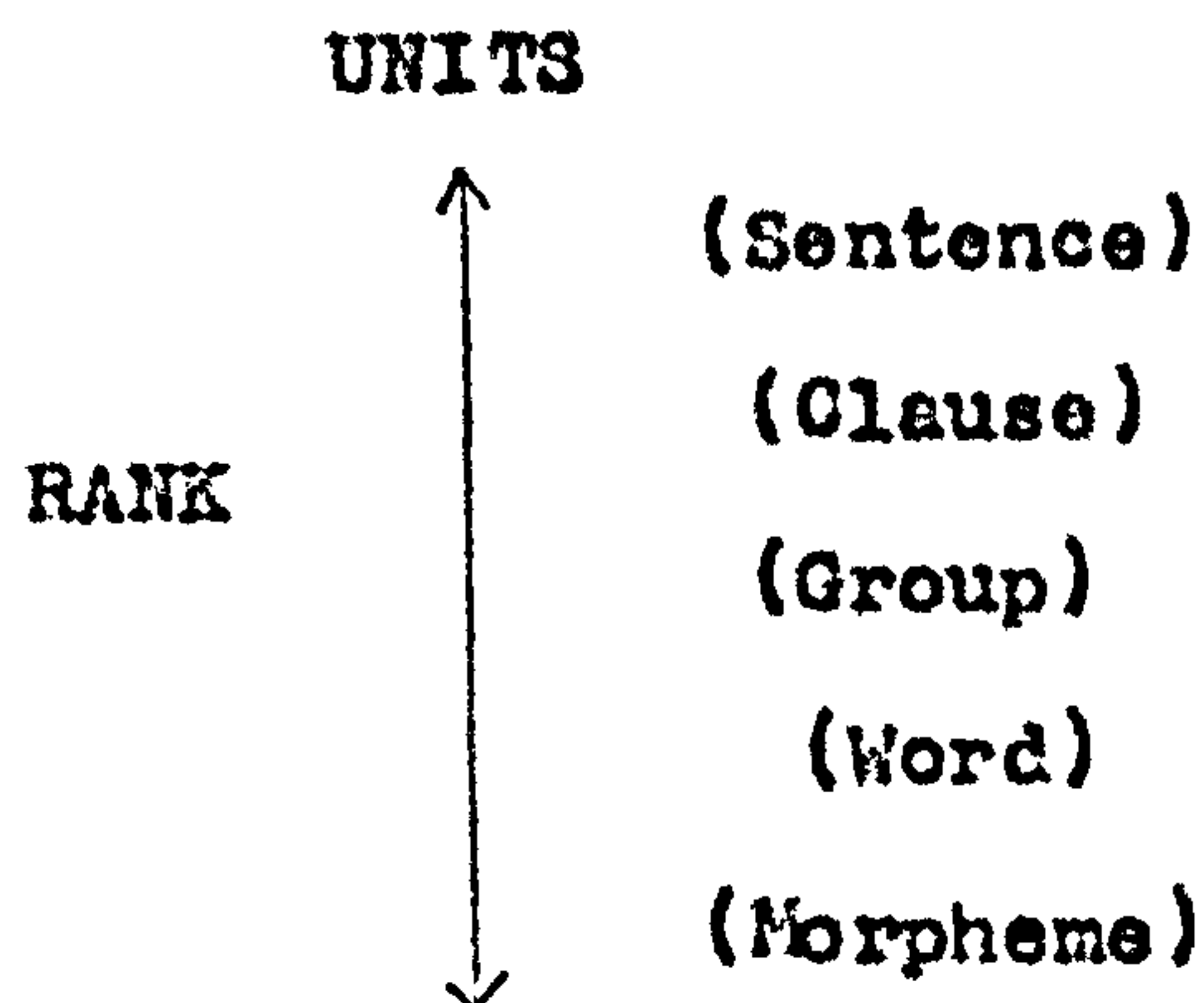
<sup>2</sup>ibid. p.7. <sup>3</sup>ibid. p.7. <sup>4</sup>cf. op. cit. p.4.





earlier used 'level' in this sense also<sup>1</sup> but in his recent paper (cf. Categories) he has suggested a useful distinction between level and rank.

The scale on which the units operate is the rank, and 'level' is restricted to the formal levels; the units may be property of a level, for example in description of English we have:



"The scale on which the units are in fact ranged in the theory need a name, and may be called rank."<sup>2</sup> This distinction has both theoretical and practical advantages.

The approaches discussed above do not give us any final answer. In this study we are mainly concerned with the statements at two 'primary levels', i.e., the form and context. At the formal level we have concentrated on grammatical and lexico-grammatical statements.

<sup>1</sup>cf. Studies p.64.. "that at the word level we can set up for both a three-term system of classes..."

<sup>2</sup>cf. Categories p.8. 3.2.

4. 1.0. A writer or a speaker making use of IE in one or more of the above-mentioned uses (cf. 1. 7.0.) is operating the language in one or more of the following situations:

1. the L2 is used in the context of C1;<sup>1</sup>
2. the non-linguistic patterns are transferred from L1's by extension of meanings and collocations of the linguistic items of L2 - in this case British English - at different ranks;<sup>2</sup>
3. intensive use is made of open set items of different L1's to contextualize the text in the Indian situations.

4. 1.1. This then is a situation of "transfer" or "transference" not necessarily of the language-features of L1's alone but also of certain non-linguistic features, i.e. the non-belonging elements<sup>3</sup> of C2 which are essential to the context of culture for C1. This implies that the formal features of IE are to be related to the non-linguistic features of Indian contexts to get a clear perspective of the function of IE in India. The formal deviations, at all the levels, from the norm - if, for instance, we take BE as the norm - are

<sup>1</sup>C1 is used here for the native culture of an L1 speaker, and C2 for the culture of the native speaker of L2. These are used as parallel terms with L1 and L2 at the contextual level.

<sup>2</sup>The term "rank" has been borrowed from Halliday. See his "Categories". Also cf. 3. 5.0.

<sup>3</sup>See Weinreich, U., Languages in Contact, p.7, "the non-belonging elements can be separated as 'borrowed' or TRANSFERRED. This is one manifestation of linguistic analysis." In this study, "transfer" includes non-linguistic features, that is, transfer of contextual sectors which are foreign to the culture of the native speaker of L2.



contextually and linguistically determined<sup>1</sup> by the fact that IE is not functioning in England or America but in a different cultural and linguistic context, i.e. India. The term "context" is used in a technical sense as an abstraction of linguistically relevant situations in a particular culture. The context is to be determined from the text which is under focus of attention. (cf. contextualization, chapter 8.)

4. 2.0. Direction of Transfer: The transfer or transference of formal features from Indian languages and contexts of culture works in the following directions:

4. 2.1. Transfer of Contexts: This means transfer of elements of context of culture from C1 and L1 to L2. If, however, the reader is a foreigner, say an Englishman, the situation is: he is reading about C2 in L1 (which may be Indianized). In the case of Hindi-Marathi, Tamil-Telugu, French-English, this transfer would be perhaps at one level only, the formal level, if we postulate that in a broad sense the speakers of these languages share the same context of experience/culture. But in the case of Hindi-English, Russian-English, it is also a matter of transfer of certain contexts - or cultural patterns - which are non-belonging elements of the culture of L2. For instance, the caste-system of India, social and religious taboos, notions of superiority/inferiority would be cultural exotica for a non-Indian. ✓

<sup>1</sup> They are linguistically determined in the sense that the varied linguistic scene of India is influencing the linguistic features of Indian English speakers/writers.

4. 2.2. Transfer of Speech-functions: The socially determined speech-functions, (cf. chapter 14) for example, modes of address/reference, greetings, blessings/prayers, abuses/curses, are related to C1 in the Indian context of culture. When these "speech functions" (abb. SF) are transferred to IE writings the situation is as follows: the participants and the characters are Indian, other relevant constituents are Indian. The SF which normally should have been in L1 is in L2, but the context of situation is not changed, only the medium of expression is changed.

4. 2.3. Transfer of formal items: The formal items at different ranks are transferred from L1 to L2, i.e. sentences, clauses, phrases, fixed collocations, compounds. A few illustrations from the IE text are given here: salt-river, (Kanth. 32), spoiler of myvsalt (Un.), sister-sleeper (V of G, 130), bow my forehead (Un.), turmeric ceremony (MM 70), cock-eyed son of a bowlegged scorpion (Un.).

4. 2.4. Transfer of meaning from L1 to L2 items: Brother-in-law has one restricted meaning in BE as a kinship term. In IE it has acquired three distinct meanings as a term of (a) abuse, (b) affection or intimacy, and (c) kinship.

The terms sister and mother have extended collocations as terms for regard and respect used without real relationship, i.e.

"Now you know what your duties are, and how to do them, sister,



you will receive our instructions." (WM 93).

The innocent-looking words flower-bed, government, have entirely different contexts, i.e.

(a) "On this, her flower-bed, her seven children were born." (MM 119).

(b) "Government, she knows nothing about drinks. She is hardly sixteen, and completely innocent." (TP 40).

Here government<sup>1</sup> is used as a mode of address for a person who represents official authority.

Contextually and collocationally the items brother-in-law, sister, mother, flower-bed, government, each belong to one or more "lexical sets" (cf. chapter 5) in IE, while in BE they are restricted each to one lexical set.

4. 3.0. In the above situation we mark that the process of transference is determined by Indian contexts and the substratum(s), for this reason, the (inter) level of context has been treated as relevant for any linguistic statement in this study.

<sup>1</sup>This is a translation of an Indian lexical item sarkār.

## 5. RESTRICTED LANGUAGES AND LEXIS

5. 1.0. The implications of placing an IE text in Indian Contexts (cf. 4.3.0.) within a linguistic frame-work are: ✓

- (i) that our statements should be restricted to functionally 'demarcated' and manageable parts of IE;
- (ii) that lexis should be studied as relevant exponent of contexts in the above (i);
- (iii) that the text under discussion should be made the basis for any contextual statement.

We have to ask now: What methods can be used to bring out the 'Indianness' of IE in terms of its functions and roles in Indian culture? And how can we give formally relevant statements about lexis with reference to the functions of a language type?

5. 1.1. Firth<sup>1</sup> uses the term "restricted languages" for those sub-languages which are "restricted by scientific method conforming to functions of language in life." This gives us some starting-point for demarcation of language-types in IE.<sup>2</sup> ✓

<sup>1</sup>See his "The Treatment of Language in General Linguistics", The Medical Press, August 19, 1959, p.146, "There are vocational, technical and scientific languages set in a matrix of closely determined sections of what may be called the general language. It is one of the requirements of science that the attention of scientific equipment should be focused on manageable subjects and hence the importance of the study of restricted languages - restricted by scientific method conforming to functions of language in life. The term 'restricted language' is applied to a scientific fiction required by linguistic analysis. It is not a general term for any actual institutionalized form of language easily recognised by the average man."

<sup>2</sup>It does not imply that Firth would agree with our use of the term, and our use of 'register' and 'speech-functions' as further abstractions from restricted languages.



5. 2.0. We could then say a linguistic statement about a language<sup>1</sup> may be in terms of a whole language, or about the "restricted languages" (Abb. RL) or sub-languages.

A statement of the second type is better considered as a statement of the operation of a language in specific contexts involving, at least, two participants (i) performer (speaker or writer) and (ii) addressee (hearer or reader). In such a statement we have first to adopt some criteria for delimiting a language in parts, according to their 'uses' or 'roles' in particular cultures. This would mean

<sup>1</sup>A broad demarcation of a language (which is not necessarily functional, except in the case of the following No.5) may be made on any of bases given below:

1. Geographical or national;
2. Temporal or historical;
3. Social;
4. Religious;
5. Functional or operative.

Geographical division is grouping of one language according to the areas of nationality of the users, for instance, the English language may be classified according to the following areas: American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian English, New Zealand English, Scots English, etc. Of the same dimension, though perhaps of a different "nature" are Indian English, Ghana English, and varieties of South African English (by the difference of "nature" we mean that these varieties, on the whole, are spoken/written as L2s). In cases of Hindi we have Dakshini Hindi, Rajasthain Hindi, etc.

In time dimension one language may be grouped in terms of different periods, e.g. Old English, Middle English, Contemporary English.

On the social-scale, we have well-known example of A. C. Ross's U and non-U English (cf. his "linguistic class-indicators in Present Day English" (Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 1954)). Also cf. Chapter 15 Caste and Religion in Indian English, especially section 15. 1.0. (footnote).

An example of language differences according to religions may be taken from India. The Kashmir language has two varieties, "Hindu Kashmiri" and "Muslim Kashmiri". These two varieties are distinct at the phonological and the lexical levels.

The functional grouping may be according to the different uses of a language, e.g. air-force English, newspaper English, scientific English. A discussion on this type of grouping is the main purpose of this chapter.



placing "a text as a constituent in a context of situation."<sup>1</sup> The basis of the grouping are:

- (i) the language-features which mark one text from the other class of texts;
- (ii) the function of the text in a specific context.

5. 2.1. The restricted languages (or sub-languages) are not necessarily restricted on the geographical dimension: These may be 'selected' keeping in view the formal distinctions from other RIs or sub-languages, their functions and roles in specific cultures. We may, for instance, take the language of administration, news-papers, social roles, etc. These may be termed 'sub-languages' of the total <sup>language</sup> (or in Hill's<sup>2</sup> terms of the 'tongue') which we term IE.

The grouping may be based on the participants, or vocations, e.g. wife/husband, parent/children, boyfriend/girlfriend, buyer/seller, ; or abuses/curses, flattery/persuasion, phatic communion.<sup>3</sup> We may also have the sub-language of radar, railways, or Hindu rituals/ceremonies, Muslim rituals/ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup>See Firth Studies, p.11.

<sup>2</sup>See T. Hill, "Institutional linguistics" ORBIS Tome VII, No.2, 1958, p.442, "In the following, the word tongue will be used as a neutral term for any of the entities commonly styled dialect, language, etc. We may start by assuming that any normal human-being has a minimum of one tongue which he shares with certain other persons." In this specific case we are treating IE as a variety of BE.

<sup>3</sup>See Firth Papers, p.30. Firth borrowed this term from Malinowski and it is applied to types of situations "in which there is a sort of 'choric' use, as when vocal interchange merely promotes or maintains affective rapport." Malinowski defined it as "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words". cf. his supplement in Ogden and Richards Meaning of Meaning, p.315.



5. 3.0. In this study we propose to use the term restricted language for any sub-language which is restricted in terms of operation and function, and which has formal characteristics (grammatical, lexical or phonological) which justify such grouping.

5. 3.1. An RL would, then, mean a delimited "sub-language" which is functionally and formally distinct from other sub-languages. It cuts across idiolects and regional varieties, and is used for specific functions by all the speakers/writers of a "tongue". In IE the RL of administration, law, etc. is pan-Indian in the sense that all the speakers/writers of different regional varieties of IE, with different Ll backgrounds, use it given the same context. It is distinct from an idiolect or a "style" in the sense that it does not necessarily show the individuality or idiosyncracies of persons, and it does not just mark one person from another.

5. 3.2. An RL is wider in the sense that it covers groups of people (irrespective of their Lls, or regions, etc.) in terms of the sub-languages which they use while operating in "the same" contextual sectors. Thus for every RL and register we have to assign a parallel sector in a context of culture. The parallel contextual sectors may be assigned to different language-texts on the basis of "contextual elimination".<sup>1</sup> We have suggested the method of contextual-substitution and textual-substitution. (cf. 8. 1.0.)

5. 4.0. The first step then is to demarcate language-types on the above criteria. We could, for example, say, we have the RL of newspapers, administration, science, technology, literature, etc.

<sup>1</sup>Firth, Papers, p.26.

But when we have said this, we have not said everything, as there is the possibility of further demarcation or grouping.

5. 4.1. An RL may further be restricted using the same criteria which we adopt for separating an RL from a 'tongue'.

5. 4.2. In a given RL we may find that there is further possibility of sub-divisions which can be explained and, perhaps, justified both contextually and formally; this may be explained as a further step in delicacy.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in the language of news-papers, we expect that editorials, legal reporting, women's page, and advertisement may perhaps be justifiable as further demarcation within a sub-language. When talking of literature, Reid<sup>2</sup> uses the term "register of literature". This leaves us doubtful about the criteria of grouping crime fiction, poetry, drama, and historical writing under one register.

We shall use the term "register" for any sub-grouping under RLs. The following diagram might make it clearer:

<sup>1</sup>See Halliday, "Categories".

<sup>2</sup>See T. B. W. Reid, "Linguistics, Structuralism and Philology". Arc L. Vol. 8, 1958. pp. 28 - 37.



## RESTRICTED LANGUAGES

SOCIAL ROLES	JOURNALISM	LITERATURE
Registers in RL	Registers in RL	Registers in RL
<u>Religion</u> Hindu/ Muslim	Editorials	Poetry
Rituals/ ceremonies	legal reporting	Drama
<u>Caste</u> Upper/ lower	Advertisement	Crime Fiction
Phatic- Communion	Sports	Historical Writing

5. 4.3. A question may now be asked: In the RL of newspapers (to take one example) shall we consider editorials, legal reporting etc., on the one hand in The Times and The Guardian, and on the other hand, in The News of the World and the Daily Express, under the same register? In such cases, perhaps, it would be useful if we accept a "style-scale" on which we mark different papers according to different "styles" and the 'roles' which they perform. In terms of the addressees (that is readers) we could perhaps say that the reading public of The Times and The News of the World is different and the two texts have different aims. If contextually and formally the difference is significant (as in the case of Women's Journals, Children's Journals) we might, perhaps treat them as separate registers.

5. 4.4. The reasons for treating editorials, legal reporting, etc. in The Times and The Daily Express under the same register are that contextually one text can be substituted for the other, if both are reporting the same event. The differences will mostly be in the "style" of the two, and at the (inter) level of context, the same contextual sector may be assigned to the two texts written in two styles.

5. 4.5. We may now ask: are there really formal bases for dividing a language into sub-groups? In other words, do the sub-languages show distinctive formal differences from each other?

In certain cases the formal characteristics of RLs have been investigated and the results obtained justify such grouping. We could broadly say the lexis of scientific literature is different from the lexis of the register of journalism or fiction; and in



the scientific RL the grammatical differences of statistical nature show that there is a high percentage of passive forms or low frequency of certain pronouns.<sup>1</sup>

But when we say that the lexis of science is different from that of other registers it is a broad generalization (though an essential first step towards more delicate statements.) We could, perhaps, say that it is right in the sense that if we compare the lexis of literature (in a general sense) with that of the RL of science and technology the differences which we find in two RLs, justify a sub-grouping. But, it should be made clear here that we suspect there may be "register differences" in registers which operate in the RL of science and literature, for example, a lexical statement about chemistry will not apply to zoology, though at first instance these may be grouped in the RL of science as against the RL of literature or administration. In such cases, we could say that though we are still operating in the RL of science, we are restricting our statement to a register.

5. 5.0. We may further find that we need another term to explain certain 'special' features of RLs (or registers). In talking about the RLs of social roles, at first we include greetings, modes of reference/address, abuses/curses, flattery/persuasion, under social roles. It may, perhaps, be found useful to give separate statements about such socially determined repetitive speech events.

<sup>1</sup>The following studies submitted for the Diploma in Applied Linguistics in Edinburgh University show interesting register differences:

Aronson, R. P. "A comparative Analysis of English Verb Usage in the Restricted Languages of fiction and the Natural and Social Sciences as represented by three Contemporary written English texts." 1959.  
Claxton, M. M. "A Study of Nominal Groups." 1960.

Seccombe, P. J. "Styles of English encountered within the register of Obstetrics and Gynaecology related to the linguistic problems of the Overseas Postgraduate students." 1961.

5. 5.1. We shall use the term speech-functions (Abb. SF) for such formal items. By speech-functions we mean those formal items:

- (i) which reveal the personal attitude of a speaker/writer in a culture (e.g. abuses; blessings);
- (ii) which convey social attitudes about or against a person/ persons (e.g. greetings; modes of address);
- (iii) which are repetitive and socially determined;
- (iv) which mark a person 'inside' or 'outside' the culture of a speech-fellowship, or a language community. (cf. Chapter 14 on Speech Functions in Indian English).

5. 5.2. This then gives us three terms which can be explained and demarcated in relation to a larger 'whole' in a language, namely, RLs which are abstracted from a tongue (or a language), registers which are demarcated from RLs, and speech functions which may or may not overlap with RLs and registers.

5. 6.0. The terms "restricted language" and "speech-functions" are used by Firth<sup>1</sup> in a general sense and "register" was perhaps first used by Reid.<sup>2</sup> In Reid's terms "among the most generally applicable registers are those of family intercourse, of administration (in a wider sense) of religion and ceremonial, and of literature... as applied to literature they have of course always been recognised by grammarians under the name of "styles"..." Reid does not suggest any specific use of the term style. Catford<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cf. op.cit. "The treatment"

<sup>2</sup>cf. op.cit.

<sup>3</sup>cf. op.cit. "Applied Linguistics" p.5. Also see M. Joos, "The Isolation of Styles". pp. 107 - 113. Report of the Tenth Annual Round Table Meeting of Linguistics and Language Studies, Washington DC, 1960. Joos tentatively recognises five styles which he terms intimate, casual, consultative, formal, frozen.



distinguishes between register and style, "registers are sub-varieties of a dialect (or idiolect) which correlate with the social roles being played by the performer, e.g. one and the same individual may function socially, as, say, a husband/father, as a member of a political party, as a professor of zoology etc. and he makes use of a range of registers appropriate to these different roles." On the other hand, style provides another dimension, that is, "the professor of zoology, for instance, may remain in his scientific register while shifting down the style scale from say formal style in a public lecture to a learned society through a colloquial in a post-graduate seminar to casual in common-room scientific gossip."

Reid's application of the term "register" to the sub-language of administration, or literature, leaves further scope for demarcation. Even on the basis of formal features there is perhaps much scope for separating the sub-language of army from legal administration (though, in a wider sense both belong to the RL of administration).

5. 6.1. At this stage (till more investigations are available) this demarcation into groups has to be arbitrary. The questions like: how shall we treat the further sub-divisions of poetry, e.g. elegy, sonnet, lyric, etc.? In this case does poetry form an RL or a register? This perhaps is the matter of how delicate grouping one wants and what is the basis of the first division.

5. 6.2. We would, then, say in case of IE we have a "tongue" termed IE, and it has regional and localized varieties; these varieties may be demarcated on the basis of language communities of India, for instance, Kashmiri English, Punjab English, Marathi English, Bengali English, etc. cutting across the regional varieties

of IE we have written ~~or~~ and spoken RLs. The main RLs are: administration, social roles, newspapers, science, technology, etc. As mentioned earlier, these may further be sub-divided into registers.

5. 7.0. The total number of RLs and registers of an individual may be determined by the vocation and the social roles one performs. It may, however, be said that at one time an individual uses a limited number of RLs or registers. The choice of a register is determined by the contextual sector (cf. 8. 2.0.).

5. 7.1. The number of registers which operate in an RL may be termed "register range"<sup>1</sup>, and the choice of one register instead of another out of a "range" is "register choice".

A "wrong" choice of a register out of a register range may mark one as non-belonging member of a speech-community or a language community, for instance, in the speech-function of greetings an Englishman using the item namaste (a greeting which is usually restricted to Hindus) for a Muslim in India would be marked as "outside" the group.

5. 7.2. A particular register which is developed or "established" in one language may be absent in another language. There are some registers in English with no corresponding registers in Hindi<sup>2</sup>, naturally, in 'translating' such registers from English to Hindi the problem is of translating from an established register of English to a language in which such a register is absent.

<sup>1</sup>The terms "register-range" and "register choice" have been borrowed from J. O. Ellis who used them in his lectures for all the registers (in his sense) of an idiolect.

<sup>2</sup>For instance, the register of chemical engineering, radar, etc.



5. 7.3. The 'confusion' of registers in L2 should perhaps become ✓  
less as a person goes up on the scale on the cline of bilingualism.

The RIs and registers on the whole are not "permanent" sub-languages which may be classified for all times. Economic, social or political influences may change a register or there may be overlappings.

5. 8.0. The functional delimitation of a text in RIs or registers should give us manageable language types which on "renewal of connections" give us the context. This does not imply, as Firth would say, that the study of the function of a language is study of a language "as an instrument of thought, as a sort of organ of the mind".

5. 8.1. The question (which we raised earlier in 7. 4.0.) is: whether the structures/systems of an RL and 'structures'/'systems' of a context can be related? The closed system items by their nature can be subject to formalization. The formalization of lexis, however, presents a problem. The lexical differences in sub-languages are apparent but as yet there is no method to formalize lexis. As a step in this direction we are using the following three terms as basic at the lexical level.

- (i) Lexical set; (Abb. LS)
- (ii) Ordered Series of Words; (Abb. OSW)
- (iii) Collocation.

The above (i) and (ii) have been discussed with illustrations in sections 12. 2.3. and 12. 2.4. respectively. In this section we shall discuss the term "collocation".

5. 9.0. The term "collocation" is used here in a technical sense referring to statements of the lexical 'environment' of collocationally important items.<sup>1</sup> The collocability of the items is determined by:

- (i) their habitual association, and
- (ii) their mutual expectancy.

5. 9.1. Collocation is an abstraction in two directions: (a) syntagmatic, and (b) paradigmatic. Syntagmatically it is the relation of two or more formal items. If we take an analogy we can say collocation has the same status in lexis as 'structure' has in grammar.

5. 9.2. In paradigmatic direction we need another category to account for the total lexical items which can be substituted for an item in the structure.

For this we are using the term "set", which is analogous to 'class' and 'system' in grammar. Let us take an example. In IE the item caste collocates with a set of following lexical items:

dinner, elders, group, superiority, sanctity, system, proud, unions, vermin, injunctions, feast, etc., and with a set of preceding items: high, inter, low, lower, professional, sub, upper.

<sup>1</sup>Firth suggested "collocation" as a technical term in Modes of Meaning (1951) and later discussed it further in the Synopsis, pp. 11 - 13. Also see Halliday, "Categories", pp. 23 - 26; cf. T. F. Mitchell, "Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis", TPS 1958, pp. 108. "A collocation is a form like any other; it is not specifically or exclusively a matter of words, still less of morphemes, though it is most often nameable in terms of words." We are avoiding the use of "word" since we reserve it "as the name for a grammatical unit, that unit whose exponents, more than those of any other unit, are lexical items."



5. 9.3. We have to account for the environment (or range) of the "collocate"<sup>1</sup> (to coin a term for the 'item in focus' of the collocation), that is, the sets following and preceding a collocate (cf. 5. 9. 2.).

5. 9.4. At this stage the questions to be answered are; (a) what do we mean by the association of items, and (b) what is mutual expectancy and, perhaps more important, (c) how do we delimit a collocation in terms of larger linguistic units, i.e., phrase, clause, sentence?

5. 9.5. By association we mean statements of the habitual places of a given item in a collocational order. The habitual places of a given item do not imply contextual meaning,<sup>2</sup> nor is it to be taken as citation. It is an abstraction and does not involve a conceptual approach to the meaning of items.

We are restricting 'association' to formally determined items: the formal determination means restrictions in terms of the 'structure' of a collocation and the items of 'sets' which can precede or follow an item.

5. 9.6. The mutual expectancy, on the other hand, is the probability of a collocation in a contextual sector in a specific culture. For instance, when we hear the collocation I touch your feet or bow my forehead in an Indian context, we know that this collocation has a function in a contextual sector of Indian greetings.

*would not functional expectancy be distinguished from formal expectancy*

<sup>1</sup>The term has been suggested by J. C. Catford.

<sup>2</sup>The contextual meaning according to Firth is "the functional relation of the sentence to the process of a context of situation in the context of culture". cf. Papers, p. 195.

If it is replaced by you eater of your masters, on the basis of mutual expectancy, we can say that it operates in the speech-function of abuses/curses in a contextual sector of India.

5. 9.7. We could then say "association" is formal and "expectancy" is contextual.

This distinction helps us to relate the concept of collocation to two levels: (a) formal, and (b) contextual, and draw a line between formally determined collocations and contextually determined collocations. What is normal<sup>1</sup> or 'expected' in one RL in one culture may be unusual and 'unexpected' in another RL in a different culture.

5. 9.8. There is no final answer for delimiting collocational 'range'. In bigger units perhaps we will have to make an arbitrary division and consider what we might call 'uninterrupted' and 'interrupted' collocations. An uninterrupted collocation is one in which the order of components is not broken by an additional lexical item/items between the two components, i.e., a silly ass. An interrupted collocation is interrupted in the sense that an additional item/items have been put between the two components, i.e., a silly old ass. Here old is an interruption between silly and ass. It is, however, useful to mark the degrees of interruption. In a silly old ass we have one degree of interruption, but in a silly

<sup>1</sup>Angus McIntosh in Patterns and Ranges (unpublished) defines a normal collocation as: "When we encounter it, we can readily assign with one or other of the classes with which we, as well as the larger dictionaries in their more systematic way, in some sense operate. By 'readily' I mean without any feeling that by so doing we are in any striking or significant way extending (as distinct from so to speak 'filling in') that class by admitting our instance to membership thereof." p.21.



old arrogant Indian ass we have three degrees of interruption.

The interruption can be of two types: (a) closed system, and (b) open-set. A closed system interruption is when a grammatical element interrupts the components of a collocation, and when the interruption is by a lexical item it is an openset interruption. ✓

5. 9.9. Is there any method of classification of collocations? Firth gives<sup>1</sup> as follows: ✓

- (i) General or usual collocations;
- (ii) Restricted technical or personal collocations.

McIntosh classifies them as:<sup>2</sup>

- (i) Normal collocations : Normal grammar.
- (ii) Unusual collocations : Normal grammar.
- (iii) Normal collocations : Unusual grammar.
- (iv) Unusual collocations : Unusual grammar.

The 'usualness' and 'unusualness' of a collocation is determined by its mutual expectancy in CS. But the combinations of two or more items as a collocation depends, as the Indian grammarians would say,<sup>3</sup> on ākāṅksā and yogyatā.

<sup>1</sup>Modes of Meaning, p.196.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Ākāṅksā is the requirement of an individual word or words in the sentence to complete the meaning; this distinguishes a sentence from a string of words. Yogyatā is the 'judgment' about the truth or falsity of a statement; for instance, he wets it with fire is 'unusual' on the basis of yogyatā, though it fulfils the criteria of ākāṅksā. See J. Brough, "Some Indian Theories of Meaning", T.P.S., 1953, pp. 161 - 176. ✓

6. 1.0. The use of the term context helps us to talk about "meaning without using it as a "dyadic relation between a sign and an object", or as a "triadic concept".<sup>1</sup> We are not concerned with the use of the term "meaning" as it is understood in some linguistic schools.<sup>2</sup> We are using it as a technical term without dichotomy of form-content or mind-body, as a technique of statements about the language types functioning and fulfilling social or individual roles; that is, language in use.

6. 1.1. This is perhaps different from how the problem of meaning has been handled by linguists after a rethinking on linguistic methodology started in the West with de Saussure. In America Sapir and Bloomfield did for linguistics what Sweet and Firth did on this side of the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup>

It will be useful to mention how other linguists (especially Bloomfield) 'solved' the problem of meaning, so that we could assess our approach in the right perspective.

Bloomfield's contribution to linguistic methodology is considerable. He was throughout fighting against what was called the traditional mentalistic approach to language. This led him to concentrate on form only since, as he says, a linguist has no "scientifically" precise means to define words

<sup>1</sup>This point has been discussed in detail by Rulon Wells, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Especially by Bloomfield and his followers.

<sup>3</sup>In America and Britain the tendency, however, is to emphasize that the recent linguistic developments have been independent of Saussurean influence.



like hate, love, anger, gay, sad, hence the statements of meaning are "the weak points in language-study and will remain so until human knowledge advances very far beyond its present state."<sup>1</sup> He found a solution to it by replacing the mentalistic approach by the mechanistic approach; the duality of form and content. The mechanistic rejection of the mentalistic terms like mental images, feelings, is based on the grounds that these terms are mere popular labels for "various bodily movements".<sup>2</sup>

Bloomfield accepts meaning as "Stimulus-Response Chain"<sup>3</sup> which is observable and measurable. This, he thinks, is essential as a theoretical concept since -

- (i) the 'methods' used to define concepts, ideas, are not rigorous;
- (ii) the traditional approaches are not scientific; and
- (iii) the use of meaning entails subjectivism.<sup>4</sup>

Bloch,<sup>5</sup> Trager,<sup>6</sup> Harris,<sup>7</sup> Fries,<sup>8</sup> have basically stuck to Bloomfield's views, but criticisms of the Sapirians and Pike have

<sup>1</sup>Language, p.140.

<sup>2</sup>ibid., p.142. This is in line with Bloomfield's behavioristic approach to language.

<sup>3</sup>The Linguistic Aspects of Science, pp.23-139.

<sup>4</sup>see R.H. Robins, "A Problem in Statements of Meaning", Lingua iii, 2, 1952, pp.121-137. Robins took the challenge as it were and attempted to show how statements of "meaning" of "private perception words" like glad, hate, pleasure, anger, can be made without redefining them in physiological terms. For this Robins uses Firth's concept of the context of situation.

<sup>5</sup>Outline of Linguistic Analysis, Baltimore, 1942.

<sup>6</sup>ibid. And An Outline of English Structure, Washington, 1956, written with H.L. Smith, Jr.

<sup>7</sup>Methods in Structural Linguistics (Chicago, 1951).

<sup>8</sup>The Structure of English, New York, 1952.

perhaps influenced them to reconsider certain views. And the first sign of this rethinking is in Fries's paper, "Meaning and Linguistic Analysis", Language 30, 1954.

The concentration of linguists on the formal levels - in an attempt to emancipate linguists from notional terms - went to an extreme and ideas about meaning became indefinite. The role of a linguist stopped with grammar, as they said,<sup>1</sup> a linguist was not competent to cross the boundaries into semantics, which was put out as metalinguistics. This left semantics - as it is called - in the hands of Philosophers (cf. Russell, Ayer), Psychologists (cf. Kantor, Osborne, Skinner), and Logicians (cf. Carnap, Morris).

It is, however, possible to see the justification for this view which now, after nearly two decades, appears extremist. The harm done to the study of languages by the early western grammarians by (a) using mentalistic concepts, and (b) transferring criteria of one language to another, was so great that this swing on the other side could not be avoided. But the baby was thrown out with the bath water.

6. 2.0. This view, however, was not universally accepted in linguistic circles. Firth, with whose approach we are mainly concerned here, was developing a monistic<sup>2</sup> theory of language,

<sup>1</sup>see Chomsky, N., Syntactical Structures, pp. 92-105; Harris, op. cit.; Bloomfield, Language.

<sup>2</sup>see Firth, Synopsis, p. 2. "In the most general terms the approach may be described as monistic." Also see "General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar", Papers, p. 225-226, and Techniques in Semantics, Papers, p. 19.



known sometimes as "spectrum analysis"<sup>1</sup> and as "level analysis."<sup>2</sup>

It was different from the structural formalism of Bloomfield and his group. The first theoretical paper<sup>3</sup> on this approach was published only two years after the publication of Bloomfield's revised and enlarged edition of Language.<sup>4</sup> In The Techniques of Semantics<sup>5</sup> Firth approached language with a different view, which might help one to "cease to respect the duality of mind and body, thought and word".<sup>6</sup> This is perhaps Firth's first disagreement with the formalists, and marks him as separate - and for some time isolated him from the linguistics of the thirties.

6. 2.1. This functional approach to language has been discussed in detail elsewhere (cf. chapter 7). Here, however, it is interesting to note that recently in America too the linguists have been thinking in terms of the operative or functional use of language which Firth emphasized in 1930. The reasons for accepting this functional view are that (a) it does not involve them in false dichotomies, (b) it is perhaps better not to divorce language from its actual use.

<sup>1</sup>see Papers, pp.170-171.

<sup>2</sup>see Bursill-Hall, G.L., "Level Analysis: J.R. Firth's Theories of Linguistic Analysis". JCLA/RACL, Vol. VI, Nos. 2 and 3.

<sup>3</sup>The basic principles were first stated in The Techniques of Semantics and published in TPS 1935. The seeds of this approach are, however, found in Firth's booklet Speech, 1930.

<sup>4</sup>Bloomfield, however, published Introduction to the Study of Language in 1914 in New York. A revised edition appeared in 1933.

<sup>5</sup>Firth, Papers, pp.7-33. <sup>6</sup>ibid. p.19.

Chomsky would agree that: "it is certainly important to find some way of describing language in use".<sup>1</sup> And adds: "But this is not the study of the linguistic form".<sup>2</sup> Of course, it is not the study of the linguistic form, it is the study of the function of the form, the interrelation of the text with the context. This distinction was clearly made by Firth in 1935. Read<sup>3</sup> concludes his interesting study with the following remarks: "a greater reliance upon words like relation and function would serve to put analysis upon a sounder basis."

Pike is the most courageous of the American linguists in attempting to break the dichotomy of form and meaning, and he comes closer to Firth's approach of "making statements of meaning at a series of levels".<sup>4</sup>

Pike says: "We feel that language is a form-meaning composite. In our view, neither form nor meaning must ultimately be set up as a unit in its own right without reference to the other."

And again:<sup>6</sup> "In the theory which I am developing, however, I am attempting to keep form and meaning rigidly joined, as a

<sup>1</sup>Chomsky, A.N., "Semantic Considerations in Grammar", report of the Sixth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching, p.149.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. in section on

<sup>3</sup>Read, A.W., "Meaning and Language Structure", ibid. p.133.

<sup>4</sup>Papers, p.214.

<sup>5</sup>Language, a Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour, p.35.

<sup>6</sup>"Meaning and Hypostasis", Georgetown Monograph, No.8, p.137.



form meaning composite."

There is an identity between Pike and Firth - among other points - on the following two basic points:

- (a) Relating language situation to use.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) Attempting to treat meaning as a part of form and important at all the linguistic levels.

After this theoretically monistic approach or psychosomatic approach, Pike falls into a trap, that is, when he attempts to set up a hierarchy of meaning.<sup>2</sup> This hierarchy - in a way - is present in Bloomfield too.

6. 2.2. In the hierarchy we have central meaning and marginal or derived meaning. What is a central meaning? Pike gives the following set of criteria<sup>3</sup> for determining a central meaning:

- (1) One which is learnt early in life.
- (2) One that is likely to have reference to a physical situation, i.e. the word nose is first learnt in the context of a child's body rather than in the context of projectiles.
- (3) One with greater frequency.

The central meaning of a phrase, then, is "the predictable

<sup>1</sup>Pike, op. cit. p.35. "Tagmemics is designed to relate structure to use."

<sup>2</sup>Pike, op. cit. pp.83-104 ff. Here it is crucial to note that Pike's use of meaning is different from Firth's use of "meaning". (cf. chapter 7, section 1.2. for Firth's use of meaning.)

<sup>3</sup>op. cit. pp.84-85.

sum of its parts taken in their central meaning."<sup>1</sup>

6. 2.3. By this concept of central meaning and marginal meaning, while trying to emancipate linguists from one extremism, Pike is involving himself in different problems.

When he speaks of a central meaning, that is, the meaning or a meaning, he is, as Read says,<sup>2</sup> attempting to "erect it into an entity, to reify it".

That the words learnt in early life can always be the words with central meaning is doubtful. It depends on the language that operates in the family which will determine the child's acquaintance with a word. Perhaps also on the occupation of the parents and the social environment. In case of words referring to the parts of the body or concrete objects we might say they have a central meaning and a derived meaning, as in head of an animal, and then derived meanings as head of an office, head of a household, head of an army, etc. But the words referring to concepts or abstract words will pose a problem.

The criterion of frequency does not apply to a language but to a restricted language or a register. Perhaps nose of projectile may have higher frequency in a text of scientific writing than in social fiction.

Pike would overcome this difficulty if he would stick to his term use of language in different situations, fulfilling social

<sup>1</sup> ibid. p.85.    <sup>2</sup> op. cit., p.124.



or individual functions; in that case nose of a projectile is functionally not less important than the nose of a woman. In fact, the concept one basic meaning or derived meaning is an "intuitive" concept, which is of doubtful use for linguistic purposes. Chomsky's main criticism of including meaning in linguistics is this "intuitive" judgement.<sup>1</sup>

Is there then a way to overcome this problem? We would basically agree with Pike on his approach to the problem, but his procedural bias has involved him in complexities.

First, the trimodal structure of language is sound, but when he comes to context it is not the linguist's context he is talking of, but a sociologist's, or an anthropologist's. In fact when he talks of structuring a breakfast<sup>2</sup> as a linguistic unit, most of the time he is not talking linguistics at all.

What Pike is doing is, he is using linguistic tools to structure behaviour. It isn't the context determined by the text but structuring of the whole human activity. We know language is only a part of human behaviour, highly structured, systemic and perhaps predictable. On the other hand, human behaviour in general cannot be - at this stage - structured with the same predictability. We have to question: is it a linguist's job to structure non-linguistic activities with linguistic methods and tools? To put the question another way, how happy do we feel when an anthropologist, a psychologist, a

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., pp. 141-153.

<sup>2</sup>see Pike, Language.

logician analyse language in|their terms? In fact, the linguists have been fighting against this tendency of other disciplines trespassing into the linguistic domain.

Pike's theory would be more rigorous, and shall we say, more linguistic, if he would include a fourth level, i.e. context, and define it, or - if he has a method - "structure" it in non-behavioristic terms.

In a "whole" language if he establishes RL's and registers that will perhaps help in|talking about meaning in restricted "bits" without establishing a "hierarchy" of "central" and "derived" meanings.

"Meaning" at the collocational level - as Firth would label it - would provide a solution to Pike's frightfully beautiful or drive a car and drive a horse.

We have talked of Pike more than of other modern descriptivists because Pike has many points in common with Firth, his approach is more all-embracing, in short, he does not divorce language from life.



## 7. CONTEXT OF SITUATION

7. 1.0. In earlier sections we have made constant reference to Firth's functional view of language without discussing it in detail. In the following pages an attempt will be made to elaborate the concept of the context of situation (Abb. C of S) and show its relevance to the study of IE.

7. 1.1. The main emphasis in Firth is on a hierarchy of techniques by means of which the "meaning" of the linguistic events is seen as a spectrum of statements at different levels. If, for instance, we postulate sentence as the highest unit in grammar, we must show its relation to the process of C of S. It is "a method rather like the dispersion of light of mixed wave lengths into a spectrum".<sup>1</sup>

7. 1.2. At the outset, however, it will be useful if we explain how Firth uses the term "meaning", since this term has been used in varied ways in different linguistic schools and it is crucial in Firthian approach to language. For Firth, "meaning" is a technical term which can be used for making statements at any level of analysis. The "meaning" of an item is not lexicography or conceptual meaning of an "item"; it is the linguistic function of an item at the different levels.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of linguistic analysis then is to note the meaning in a strictly linguistic sense at all the levels; and meaning is to be interpreted strictly within an autonomous linguistic discipline.

<sup>1</sup>Firth: "Personality and Language in Society", Papers, p.183.

<sup>2</sup>See Papers, pp.191 - 192. "Let us therefore apply the term linguistics to those disciplines and techniques which deal with institutionalized languages or dialects as such. A statement of the meaning of an isolate of any of these cannot be achieved at one fell swoop by one analysis at one level."

7. 2.0. In this approach, situation and levels, as we have seen in the earlier sections, are also technical terms. The specialized statements of meaning may be made about the delimited language texts (cf. Chapter 5).

7. 2.1. The statements of meaning may be made at two levels: (a) formal, and (b) contextual. As the meaning at different levels is stated the linguistic event "disperses" like a spectrum till at the contextual level an RL is related to the social process of which it forms a part. "Speech at all levels is regarded as a social and bodily process..."<sup>1</sup>

This relation of form with function gives us the context of situation in the Firthian sense. It embraces not only the speaker/hearer relationship but the whole cultural background of their coming together.<sup>2</sup> In this spectrum the formal and the contextual features are subject to one framework.

7. 3.0. In order to distinguish Firth's use of the term C of S and its use by others, we must trace the history of the term and see how Firth used it differently as a theoretical concept.

Firth borrowed the term C of S from Malinowski,<sup>3</sup> who used it as a semantic concept for analysing ethnographic data, but used it differently. Malinowski owed his early notion of Situation to Wegener (1885), who propounded what is called a Situationstheorie.<sup>4</sup> Malinowski rightly separated language from mental processes and described it as a mode of action rather than a counter-sign of thought. This was in line with British empiricism, "and of the

<sup>1</sup>See Papers, p.170.

<sup>2</sup>See Uldall, H.J., 'On the Preparation of a Text' Arc. L.

<sup>3</sup>Malinowski, B. Coral Gardens and their Magic, 1935 (Lon.), Vol.II.

<sup>4</sup>See Firth, J.R. "Ethnographic Analysis of Language" in Man and Culture, London, 1957, pp.93-117 - especially p.95. Wittgenstein also expresses the same view in "the meaning of words lies in their use", *ibid.*, p.94



philosophical radicals and utilitarians, whose influence was far-reaching and is obvious in the works of Vienna circle".<sup>1</sup> His aim was the analytical and functional study of culture and he made linguistics subordinate to his anthropological work. He says, "Language is ethnographer's most important tool... ..he is obliged to disclose his most important apparatus, that is, his linguistic apparatus."<sup>2</sup>

7. 3.1. The main points of Malinowski's views on C of S<sup>3</sup> can be summarized as follows:

- (i) that the meaning of an utterance is determined by taking the context of a whole utterance in a C of S;
- (ii) that the general conditions in which an utterance is spoken should be included;
- (iii) that a word without the linguistic context is a mere fragment and stands for nothing by itself;<sup>4</sup>
- (iv) that gestures and motions are essential factors for understanding speech;
- (v) that meaning should be defined in terms of experience and situation.

Malinowski first gets his context of culture, from which he abstracts the context of situation, and he considers this type of study essential for primitive languages.

For him then the C of S is "the physical environment" in which a linguistic activity is performed. This is further related with the social and cultural realities of the person/persons involved in the activity.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p.94

<sup>2</sup>Malinowski, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>See Malinowski, B., The Meaning of Meaning (supplement entitled "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages", pp. 296 - 336) (London)

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.307.



7. 3.2. Firth's use of the concept of C of S is different from Malinowski's, and relevant to general linguistics. He developed it into a linguistic theory and studied language as restricted forms of speech and writing in actual use by persons in different social roles. Firth used it in 1930<sup>1</sup> for linguistic work and mentioned specifically, "the linguist, however, must keep the language text in the focus of attention, and his main work is the linguistic analysis of the language data collected in his corpus inscriptionum."<sup>2</sup>

For Malinowski C of S is "a bit of social process which can be considered a part in which a speech event is central and makes all the difference."<sup>3</sup> In Firthian view C of S is a suitable schematic / construct to apply to language events.<sup>4</sup>

The abstracted categories of C of S consist of verbal and non-verbal constituents and are related to one "observable" and "justifiable" grouped set of events. They are "observable" in the text and the text is "justifiable" in relation with the function which it is supposed to fulfil.

There is no suggestion in Firth's approach that the linguistic analysis including C of S is merely "an utterance" in "environmental reality", as it is in Malinowski.

To Malinowski, C of S had a "creative meaning"<sup>5</sup> in relation with behaviour. But Firth applies it also to "typical repetitive events" of linguistic significance, in the social process, which forms a restricted language.

<sup>1</sup>For Firthian views on Context of Situation see the following work: Speech (Benn, Lon.) pp. 38 - 45, Chapt. on 'The Problem of Meaning'; The Techniques of Semantics, pp. 64 - 71; The Tongues of Men, pp. 126 - 130; Modes of Meaning, p. 135; General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar, pp. 83 - 84. A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, pp. 7 - 11. "Ethnographic Analysis and Language" in Man and Culture, pp. 83 - 118.  
<sup>2</sup>Firth, "Ethnographic Analysis and Language," in Man and Culture, p. 96.  
<sup>3</sup>Firth, "Personality and Language in Society." Papers, p. 182.  
<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 182.  
<sup>5</sup>Malinowski, B., The Meaning of Meaning.



Firth would not restrict this type of approach to the primitive language - whatever Malinowski meant by it. For him it applies to all languages and all cultures.

7. 3.3. We could then say Malinowski thinks language is perhaps better considered as having creative function, effect or "meaning" in context of situation; if you want to know what an utterance means, see what happens after it is said.

7. 3.4. Firth is concerned with mutually expectant inter-relations of elements of structure and terms of systems, on the one hand and constituents of C of S on the other, in which the text or portions of the text can be said to exemplify special functions. The text or pieces of text may also be justified in C of S by examples of collocation, and extended collocation, possibly in some restricted language.

7. 3.5. The C of S in Firthian sense is an abstraction from situation and it includes context of experience and context of culture of the speech-fellowship, speech-community, or a language community in which a language is functioning. The situation is extra-linguistic which has a form imposed on it by language - this imposed form, perhaps, could be termed C of S. It is an abstraction of the same nature as the systems and structures of phonology and grammar. These two abstractions, i.e. formal and contextual may be easily analysed if language is divided into RLS.

7. 4.0. The observation of this functional aspect of languages would become easier if we had a definite set of classifications for C of S. Firth admits<sup>1</sup> that there is no one classification

<sup>1</sup>See Halliday, op. cit., p.4. The "formal criteria are crucial, taking precedence over contextual criteria; and the statement of formal meaning logically precedes the statement of contextual meaning."

which can be applied to all situations. The classification would vary with a situation and speech event. For a form-context analysis of a text the first step is to relate the form with the context, and in order to do so we have to answer the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between:
  - (a) form, (b) context, and (c) situation?
2. What formal features are to be abstracted from the text in relation with the context?
3. How is the text to be delimited?
4. Is there a one-to-one relation between the context/contexts and the structure and systems operating in an RL?

The first question is of a theoretical status - and of a different nature - and must be answered before we proceed to 2, 3 and 4.

In the relationship of (a) form, (b) context, and (c) situation, we have to make distinctions according to the processes of abstraction involved. The relationship between (a) and (b) is based on the dependence of (b) on (a). The contextual abstractions are based on the form. (cf. 7.3.5.)

The abstraction of language features in relation with a context can be of open items or closed-system items in an RL or Register. The closed system is by definition finite.

The last question whether the structures and systems of a restricted language and "structure" and "systems" of context can be related is difficult to answer at this stage. At the lexical level the relationship may be easily established, at the grammatical level statistical differences in terms of frequencies have been found. These questions, and the problems of formalization of lexis have been discussed elsewhere. (cf. Restricted languages and Lexis, Chapter 5).



7. 4.1. Firth has suggested the following categories for C of S:<sup>1</sup>

- A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.
  - (i) Verbal actions of participants.
  - (ii) Non-verbal actions of participants.
- B. The relevant objects.
- C. The effect of the verbal action.

The other features to be considered are:

- A. Economic, religious, social structures to which participants belong.
- B. Types of discourse - monologue, narrative.
- C. Personal interchanges - age, sex of participants.
- D. Types of speech - social flattery, cursing.

7. 4.2. Firth would also add creative effect or effective result as a link with C of S in order to observe the movements of participants and events, and possibly additional features in an extended C of S. The structure and system of a text is to be related with "structure" and "system" outside. But the meaning should always be stated by focus of attention on the text. The situation is to be structured, that is, it is to be marked how the text works in special functions, collocations, extended collocations. The function is intra-linguistic and we need a context in order to see how a language functions. The "system" at the contextual level means the CPs which can operate in a CS.

<sup>1</sup>See Papers, p. 182, and also Studies, p. 9.

## 8. CONTEXTUALISATION.

8. 1.0. In 7. 3.5. we have defined context as an abstraction of those features of situation which are relevant to the text which is under focus of attention. In other words, it is the relation of form with the non-linguistic features in which a particular language type operates.

The relevant features of a situation are those features which have direct bearing on the form. How do we discover a relevant feature? There are two methods: (a) contextual-substitution, (b) textual substitution. In contextual-substitution we have to ask whether, for example, sex or the social-status of a speaker - in a situation - is a relevant feature. Does the participant of a different sex, or a person from a higher or a lower social status, entail a textual change? If another text is substituted, does this lead to a contextual change?

8. 2.0. The problem (as referred to in 7. 4.0.) now is that a linguist has no definite method for handling the context: we need a set of terms and a method of classification for what we call, for lack of a better term, a "contextual sector". (Abb. CS) A CS is an attempt to demarcate the features of situation which are textually relevant in terms of the "contextual parameters" (Abb. CP).<sup>1</sup> A CS is an abstraction on two axes: (a) syntagmatic, and (b) paradigmatic. Syntagmatically we think of a CS in the 'time' dimension with clear boundaries and paradigmatically it is a bundle of features comprising one or more CPs.

8. 2.1. The variable contextual features which are characteristic for a text are the CPs. They are definable variables which determine the effective operation of a text in a context. The CPs

<sup>1</sup>This term was casually suggested by Firth to the writer in August, 1960, in London, after Firth visited the PAT in the Phonetics Department of Edinburgh in July. He, however, did not mention any specific definition of it.



are abstractions for which at this stage there is no finite number, since no finite statements about the contexts can be made. But one or more of the following definable - features of context can be established as CPs.

### I. INDIVIDUAL or PERSONAL:

1. Sex of person/persons involved in the situation.
2. Age of the participants.
3. Educational background. This can be further tabulated as:
 

formal education	:	non-formal education
university education	:	non-university education
public school	:	non-public school
4. Geographical area (from which a person comes). Characteristics which localize a person, i.e. dress, food habits, etc.
5. Accent/Language traits. Certain formal features in the spoken/written language are sometimes associated with a particular speech-fellowship or a speech-community.

### II. INDIVIDUAL IN GROUP:

1. Social status. This has two dimensions:
  - (a) The position of a person in the hierarchy of the caste.
  - (b) The economic position, official status.
2. Religion, i.e. Muslim, Hindu, Christian, etc.
3. Speaker/addressee relationship, i.e. wife/husband, father/son, teacher/student, etc.

### III. ENVIRONMENTAL:

This includes the situation of the text in terms of the area

and the culture in which a linguistic activity takes place.

In a written text we can add the following:

1. Chronology: The reconstruction of the text in historical terms. In fact, in literary history when we divide writers in terms of chronological age we are all the time using this criterion.
2. Language grouping. The grouping of writers on the basis of their language-features.
3. Concepts, ideas: This includes ideas, imagery, or "message" of a writer.

8. 3.0. The CPs are the features of the context, and the context is an abstraction from situation. Situation<sup>1</sup> means the "physical environment", which is non-linguistic, but context is a further abstraction of that "physical reality". In other words, it is a substitute for determining "meaning" in delimited language types.

<sup>1</sup>It is roughly what Bhartrhari calls Prakarna, which has been translated by Brough as situational context. See "Some Indian Theories of Meaning", T.P.S., 1953, pp. 161 - 176.



9. 1.0. In Part II on "Description and Comparison" we have used the term "comparison" in a restricted sense for "comparison" of the units, systems, structures and classes of one or more 'varieties' (cf. 9. 5.2.) of a language and also for "comparison" of contexts. In this sense, then, in addition to its normal use:

- (i) we are applying it to the comparison of the "variety/ varieties" of a language;
- (ii) we are extending its use from comparison of the formal levels to the non-formal linguistic features.

Since "comparison" has been used as a key term for any statement which involves two or more languages (or "varieties" of a language) it would be useful to attempt a wider survey of the field of comparative linguistics and then come to the specific points pertinent to this study.

9. 2.0. A linguistic statement may be in one of two "dimensions": (i) historical (or diachronic) (ii) descriptive (or synchronic). In both these dimensions we may enlarge the scope of material from one to more than one language-text. If more than one text is under discussion for formal or contextual comparison we have a comparative statement.<sup>1</sup> So according to time-construct a comparative statement may be of two types:

<sup>1</sup>A distinction is to be made between a typological statement and a comparative statement. A typological statement is classification of languages according to their use of systems and structures, as opposed to their historical or geographical relationship.



(i) Comparative historical and (ii) Comparative descriptive.<sup>1</sup>

Palmer<sup>2</sup> and Allen<sup>3</sup> contrast comparative (or descriptive-comparative) with historical, "but the opposition is not that of 'synchronic' with 'diachronic', since the chronological relation of the languages compared is considered irrelevant."<sup>4</sup> Palmer,<sup>5</sup> however, doubts the validity of Halliday's distinction between (i) linguist's aim and (ii) scope of his material, in dividing comparative statement and historical statement.

<sup>1</sup>In comparative description two further distinctions are possible. See, Ellis & Halliday, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Linguists, p.116 (cf. "We must distinguish between comparative grammar of languages in general, i.e., any principles that may be induced from the grammar of each language, and the comparative grammar of language-families, which aims at a description of the present language; and between description of a living language at a given time, which will be a unitary system of "language" inducible from its spoken texts, and "description" of a language known only from written texts of varying provenance (e.g. OHG), which will consist in comparison of the texts, and/or in description of each text.") cf. also Halliday, "Some Aspects of Systemic Description and Comparison in Grammatical Analysis," Studies, pp.55-56.

<sup>2</sup>see F.R. Palmer, "Comparative Statement and Ethiopian Semitic" TPS 1958. p.122 (footnote).

<sup>3</sup>see W.S. Allen, "Relationship in Comparative Linguistics" TPS 1953.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Palmer. op. cit. p.122.

<sup>5</sup>see ibid. p.122 (footnote) (cf. "But the distinction he (Halliday) draws between the linguist's aim and the scope of his material in separating comparative statement on the one hand, and historical statement on the other from the descriptive analysis of a particular language is a very doubtful one. For comparative statement deals with more than one language text, while historical statement deals with language texts arranged in some chronological order. In both cases the scope differs from that of a particular descriptive statement in that it is more than a single language text (unless the question of genetic relationship is begged), and the aim too appears to be the same - to make a single statement to cover the several texts (for separate unintegrated statements could be neither comparative nor historical). The only clear distinguishing feature is the chronological relation of the texts; but this is irrelevant, unless evolution is being studied, and this is denied by Halliday, since he further contrasts 'evolutionary' with 'descriptive' and 'historical'.")



9. 2.1. A theoretical distinction - not accepted by all linguists<sup>1</sup> - has been drawn between comparative philology and comparative linguistics. The basis of this distinction is that "structural"<sup>2</sup> linguistics is "scientific", and any branch claiming to be linguistic should be "scientific" in the same sense, and since comparative philology is not "scientific" in that sense,<sup>3</sup> it cannot be treated as a branch of general linguistics.

Allen's main points against including comparative philology in general linguistics are summed up by Ellis<sup>4</sup> as:

- "1. Comparative philology is not scientific because it is historical linguistics, for
2. historical linguistics is not scientific because it is not

<sup>1</sup>The point whether comparative philology can be included in "scientific" linguistics was raised by Allen in his "Relationship in Comparative Linguistics" TPS 1953, and hinted in an earlier paper (cf. his "Phonetics and Comparative Linguistics", Arch. L., Vol. 3, pp.126-136). This led to a controversy which still continues, see J. Ellis "General Linguistics and Comparative Philology" Lingua, Vol. VII, 1958, pp.134-174; Halliday op. cit.; F.R. Palmer, "Comparative Statement and Ethiopian Semitic" TPS 1958, pp.119-143; Ellis, "Some Problems in Comparative Linguistics", Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society, Vol. 1. No. 7, 1961. (cf. "... it is possible to develop what I term general comparative linguistics, as a methodologically useful framework to contain both comparative descriptive linguistics and comparative philology (genetic comparative linguistics...)") Ellis basically disagrees with Allen.

<sup>2</sup>"structural" linguistics is used in certain circles for, what is now known as "American" linguistics. Here we do not mean any special school or approach, it is "that body of general linguistic theory which controls the application of formal linguistic techniques." cf. Halliday, op. cit. p.55.

<sup>3</sup>see Allen, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup>see op. cit. "General Linguistics" p.151.

systemic."<sup>1</sup>

Ellis replaces it by the following:

- "1. Comparative philology is not (in its material) systemic because what shows reality of development in the language is not the systems, but
2. historical linguistics (though not the Comparative Philological part of it) can be systemic, and in any event
3. what is not systemic can be scientific." Halliday, we might say, shares the view of Ellis when he treats<sup>2</sup> "any linguistic study, historical or descriptive, particular or comparative" as branches of linguistic science.

9. 3.0. Comparison necessarily involves two or more languages (unless it is the case of comparing the varieties of the same language) but that does not mean that a language as a "whole", at all the levels, is to be compared with another language as a whole. A comparison may be made at one level only of one or more systems, and different methods may be employed for different systems. As Bazell says, languages

<sup>1</sup>We may say that by implication C.E. Bazell agrees with Allen's view at least, on this point. See his Linguistic Typology, London, 1958, p.4. "... it is no longer uncritically accepted that they (Comparative Philologists) were restoring lost stages of linguistic development in quite the way they themselves supposed." Allen's point is that from the Romans - who could not fail to recognize similarities in Latin and Greek - right up to Sir William Jones the observations they made were intuitive and, "it is the essence of the comparative discipline that it seeks to replace the intuitive recognition of similarities by a systemic analysis of their nature." see op. cit. "Relationship", p.57.  
<sup>2</sup>op. cit. p.55.



seldom present homogeneous systems, "but rather sets of overlapping systems."<sup>1</sup> This, then, raises a vital question; if there is more than one language under discussion are we to accept "language universals" (or universal categories) according to which structures, systems and classes may be compared? And can systems of one language be, as it were, imposed on the other language? The language-universals (or linguistic universals) would then mean certain features of "languages" which would be termed basic for all languages.<sup>2</sup>

On the point of universal linguistic categories which could be applied to comparative studies of languages, there are two schools of thought. One group of linguists believe that there is (or can be) a basic grammatical frame-work which applies to all languages. This view is held by Hjelmslev,<sup>3</sup> and to a lesser extent by Meillet<sup>4</sup> and Sapir. Meillet and Sapir believe that the categories of noun and verb are common to all languages. Sapir writes:<sup>5</sup> "There must be something to talk

<sup>1</sup>see Bazell op. cit. p.4. "The monosystemic analysis still favoured in some circles is yielding ground to the polysystemic analysis..." Earlier Firth had suggested and used the polysystemic analysis on some languages of Asia and Africa. See his "Sounds and Prosodies" TPS 1948. Also see Palmer op. cit. pp.122-23 "The vast complexity of language requires a polysystemic approach. Different phonological statements may be required, for instance, for the verbal and the nominal forms of a language, or even for the stems and endings of morphologically related words."

<sup>2</sup>For a detailed discussion on this point see R.H. Robins, "Noun and Verb in Universal Grammar", Lang. Vol. 28, No. 3. Also, A.R. Kelkar, "The Category of Case in Marathi - A Study in Method", Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume (II), 1959.

<sup>3</sup>cf. Louis Hjelmslev, Principes de grammaire generale, Copenhagen, 1928.

<sup>4</sup>see A. Meillet, Linguistique historique et linguistique generale, Paris, 1926.

<sup>5</sup>cf. Language, p.126.



about and something must be said about the subject of discourse... No language wholly fails to distinguish noun and verb." The other group doubts the possibility of universal grammatical categories since there are no universal criteria by which we classify the forms of utterances into grammatical categories. In his theory Firth "presents in outline a general linguistic theory/applicable to particular linguistic descriptions, not a theory of universals for general linguistic description."<sup>1</sup> (his underlining). Robins<sup>2</sup> and Halliday,<sup>3</sup> on the whole, share the Firthian view. Halliday<sup>4</sup> further distinguishes between (a) the scientific methods which are universally valid and (b) the formally established categories which are not universally valid. This distinction claims "universality" for "method" but not for the categories, which should be in relation to a language. There is, however, some

<sup>1</sup>see Studies, p.31.

<sup>2</sup>see Robins op. cit. p.297. "No longer can it be argued that since we all inhabit a world with a common metaphysical structure, our languages must exhibit a common structure of grammar. Rather we must say that since certain basic grammatical terms, with certain semantic implications, are found to be generally applicable over the ever-growing field of known languages, we are justified in inferring that the experience of different human societies is similarly ordered. In view of existing analysis, to be sure, we cannot say that any particular concept - space, time, person, process or the like - is universally represented; but at least the conceptual frames carried by the various types of linguistic structure are in fact convertible. In other words, sentences in one language are translatable into sentences in another language."

<sup>3</sup>see Halliday op. cit. p.57, "The structural linguists... will be unwilling to claim universality for any formally established category... the verb is redefined in the description of each language."

<sup>4</sup>ibid.



agreement on one point, and that is, that certain word classes may be universal, (for example, 'verb' and 'noun') but they are to be redefined in terms of the language/languages under discussion.

9. 3.1. The methodology of comparative descriptive linguistics has lately become a subject of serious thought among linguists. Even though Pedersen<sup>1</sup> claimed in 1924 that "with the development which has taken place since the seventies, it can be said that comparative linguistics has now attained full maturity and a clear consciousness of its methods and undertakings" (our underlining), there is no one method for comparative descriptive linguistics; the situation is the same as in linguistic methodology in general.<sup>2</sup>

9. 4.0. The method may perhaps be determined by the purpose of comparative description. A description may be undertaken for any of the following purposes as given by Ellis:<sup>3</sup>

1. the theoretical linguistics of L1 or L2 and comparison with any L2;<sup>4</sup>
2. the practical task of translation;<sup>5</sup>
3. the comparative philological studies;

<sup>1</sup>see Halger Pedersen Linguistic Science in the 19th Century, 1931, Harvard. It was originally published in Danish in 1924 as a volume XV of Det Nittende Aarhundrede. (Pedersen was perhaps referring only to Comparative Philology.)

<sup>2</sup>An interesting example of different linguistic "methods" applied to the same data is given by Bazell (cf. op. cit. p.7). He shows how items call, stay, seal, show may be interpreted by four linguists in four 'ways'. This, however, does not dispute the inherent uniformity of the subject.

<sup>3</sup>cf. Ellis op. cit. "General linguistics" p.164:ff.

<sup>4</sup>It may be restricted to only one aspect of a language.

<sup>5</sup>In this case all aspects of a language must be covered.



4. the study of "variety" of languages;<sup>1</sup>
5. the purpose of experimenting with the methods of comparison.

The following "purposes" may be added to this list:

1. the comparison of the different varieties of the same language;<sup>2</sup>
2. the teaching of languages;<sup>3</sup>
3. the comparison of differences in Registers and RL;<sup>4</sup>
4. the comparison of texts for comparison of "contexts".<sup>5</sup>

9. 4.1. We have already said (cf. chapter 2) that it is the theory behind a method which makes methodology powerful. The question then is: is there a theory of comparative linguistics on which methodology of comparative linguistics is based? Allen<sup>6</sup> attempts to present a theory of comparison "compatible with general linguistic principles". The

<sup>1</sup>The study of "nature" of language/languages in general.

<sup>2</sup>This would be intra-language comparison, different (from the above 1-4) in the sense that LUD would be varieties of the same language.

<sup>3</sup>This would involve structural comparison of systems and structures of two or more languages for teaching. This has been termed, "Transfer-Grammar" (and "contrastive" analysis) (cf. O.L. Chavarría-Aguilar, Lectures in Linguistics Poona, India, 1954.) "Transfer-grammar is a set of techniques for the teaching of languages.... seeks not only to supplement, but must seek also to curb and modify by pointing out the incompatibility with the structural whole of the new system of certain processes and structural characteristics of the learner's system." ibid. p.p. 104-5.

<sup>4</sup>Here the aim may be to produce a partial or complete analysis to bring out Register or RL differences.

<sup>5</sup>An attempt towards developing a theory of "comparison" of contexts on the basis of the material in a text.

<sup>6</sup>cf. Allen, op. cit. p.53.



methodological requirements of such a theory are:

- (i) the principles should not be restricted by application to a specific group of languages;
- (ii) the systems set up to handle comparison should not be complex;
- (iii) the aim should be a theory rather than a hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

He further gives two postulates<sup>2</sup> for a systemic comparison:

- (i) Relationship is not of languages but of systems;
- (ii) Relationship is not either-or but more-or-less.<sup>3</sup>

Relationship is defined as "a function of linguistic systems rather than languages per se and in toto."<sup>4</sup>

We have used the term "method" of comparative descriptive linguistics. The question is: are the methods of "comparison" different from the methods of other branches of linguistics? The answer is "no", if the body of the theory which is guiding general linguistics is applied to comparative studies.

<sup>1</sup>He makes it specific that it is a theory in the Hjelmslevian sense. See Hjelmslev, Prolegomena to a theory of language p.8. "On the basis of a theory and its theorems we may construct hypotheses (including the so-called laws), the fate of which, contrary to that of theory itself, depends exclusively on verification."

<sup>2</sup>cf. op. cit. p.92.

<sup>3</sup>Allen (see op. cit. pp.92-93) presents a formula to state degree of relationship between system A and system B in any two languages.

<sup>4</sup>ibid. p.53.

9. 5.0. The method may also depend on the level of analysis: what then are the relevant levels (or inter-levels) for a comparative statement? We have already said that comparison may be made at any level (or inter-level) of any systems and structures; the "techniques" may, however, vary from level to level. Description at one level does not mean that in a comparative study (or a descriptive study) inter-relation of levels is not essential. "In any kind of linguistic statement, whether comparative or not, the recognition of interdependence of levels is an essential characteristic, and a comparative statement, no less than the statement of a single language, must involve analysis at the various levels."<sup>1</sup>

If we take Halliday's classification into consideration, comparative statements may be made about the formal levels and also about "non-formal linguistic categories."<sup>2</sup> A comparison at different levels is, then, a process of "identification" of systems at one or more levels. The phonetic or phonological "identification" is not the main difficulty; the problem arises when "semantic systems" are to be identified. (cf. Ellis op. cit. "Some problems" p.55.)

9. 5.1. In semantic "equation" the problem is to find "identical contexts" and their "exponents" in the text.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>see Palmer, op. cit. 122-123.

<sup>2</sup>see his "some aspects" and "Categories".

<sup>3</sup>cf. Allen, "Relationship" p.60. "But without the restriction of formal identification the number of possible comparisons would, of course, be unlimited, only those semantic equations



theory of contextual comparison will, perhaps, be different from the theory of formal comparison (though basically inter-related since one depends on the other), but different in the sense that the nature of a contextual statement is not the same as that of a formal statement.

The first step towards "identification" of contexts may be to "demarcate" language in terms of CS's of the culture in which a language functions. In certain cases it may present no difficulty, for instance, the pronouns, modes of address/reference, or kinship terms. But, on the whole, "demarcation" of language in terms of CS's is very "tentative" and overlapping is possible.

If we take the kinship system in IE and BE, that may give us some idea how the contextual factors of C1 have influenced the L2. The formal differences in this case can be explained only if the Indian context is taken into consideration. In BE the L's of kinship terms may comprise - among other items - the

are therefore considered for which it proves possible to state a corresponding formal equation..." Throughout this study it has been emphasised that no contextual statement - or "semantic equation" as Allen would say - is valid unless there is a formal exponent in relation with a CS, that is, the context is "discussed" on the basis of the text under discussion. Ellis has raised this point in his recent paper, "Some Problems..." cf. p.55 "...But the question arises of identifying systems as comparable, and terms within them as identical between two languages. Phonological systems present no great difficulty. But semantic systems set problems the solution of which appears to be the finding of linguistic contexts referable to an identical context of situation."

following items:

brother, brother-in-law, cousin, father, mother, etc.

In IE these items need different formal and contextual statements in the sense that:

- (i) the members of one BE set operate in three sets in IE;
- (ii) the items in IE have been increased;
- (iii) the "meaning" of the items has been extended.

The extension of items of one BE lexical set to more than one lexical set in IE means that items like brother, sister, mother, brother-in-law, may operate as items in any of the following sets: (i) modes of address/reference; (ii) terms of endearment; (iii) terms of regard and respect, and in usual BE sense as (iv) terms of kinship.

In BE the item cousin has no marker of sex, in IE cousin is usually followed by the marker of sex. i.e. cousin-sister (RH,29), cousin-brother (F of F,131).

On comparative "contextual identification" of the Lexical set of kinship terms in two varieties of English IE presents two problems. The first, is of overlapping of the sets in contexts; the second is of addition of items to a set. The question then is: are these two lexical sets "identical", and can "identical" CS's be established? One solution of this problem may be to "form" three CS's for IE with overlapping of



items in all the three contexts. The addition of items to a set presents no problem since by definition a lexical set is an "open set" with the possibility of addition of members to the set.

On contextual comparison we can say the two are "identical" as the lexical sets of kinship terms in IE and BE only if they produce the same "effective results", (though in IE the kinship system has been extended to many "non-kinship" contexts too).

Ellis<sup>1</sup> suggests that the solution of finding "semantic systems" may be in finding linguistic contexts referable to the same contexts of situation that would be a "link" between the formal exponents and the context. He suggests the possibility of the use of translation. He is, however, aware of the difficulties<sup>2</sup> which one may have to face in using translation as a method.

<sup>1</sup>see his "On Comparative Linguistics" pp.555-56. Etudes Mladenov, Sofia, 1957.

<sup>2</sup>see ibid. p.556. "The first difficulty is that this non-linguistic context as a whole is known, to the translator and the language investigator only through the original expression of it. What in fact is expressed by any attempt at translation is one of the possible total non-linguistic contexts that could be understood from the original text, and one says the attempt is a (good) translation to the extent that it conveys what is shown by knowledge of the original language and its various contexts (i.e. other "texts" and their situations) to have been the original intention. This then constitutes the second difficulty; the varying quality of "translations" (attempts at translation). A final difficulty is that in order to convey as much as possible of the original it may be necessary to use a style of the language of translation, that while wholly unintelligible to the reader, is not a style used normally, i.e. for original composition."

9. 5.2. So far we have used comparison in the sense of statements about two or more languages (which may or may not be genetically related); this would be an inter-language comparison. The other aspect of comparison is, what may be termed, intra-language comparison. That is comparison of "the varieties"<sup>1</sup> of "the same" language. When we term language A as the variety of language B, we presuppose some formal affinity between the two; (though contextually the two languages may be functioning in entirely different cultures) for example, the English language in Australia, Britain and India. The assumption that there is "affinity" does not rule out the possibility of there being "deviations". It is on the basis of both, the "difference" and "sameness", that a language may be considered a "variety" of another language.

It would be linguistically relevant - and perhaps useful - to investigate how the units, systems, structures, and classes operate in a given RL of a particular language and what differences, if any, are found in a variety.

For comparative purposes another distinction is to be made between those varieties of English which are spoken/written as L1's, and those varieties which are spoken/written as L2's.

<sup>1</sup>By variety of a language we mean two or more forms of a language as "developed" in different contextual settings. A good example is the English language in America, Australia, Britain and Canada; the varieties of English used as L2's would include English in India, parts of Africa, Malaya, etc. For a discussion on the term "variety" see J. Gumperz and A. Ferguson, "Linguistic Diversity in South Asia" (IJAL supplement Vol. 26, No. 3, 1960). Also see Catford, "Applied Linguistics", p.4, section 5.)



The varieties used as L2 may present different problems from the varieties used as L1. For example, in the case of L1 speakers of English in Australia and New Zealand there may be some formal differences which are essentially determined by the context.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand in the case of L2 speakers of English - say, in India - there are contextual differences and also "interference" of the substratums.

9. 5.3. The other problem is: is there any method of showing whether a particular language is a variety of norm 1 or norm 2?<sup>2</sup> And, more important, how do we determine a norm?<sup>3</sup> These questions are still unanswered.

Comparative methods may also prove a useful tool at the contextual level to show the Indianness of IE as opposed to "the Englishness of English" which Ellis<sup>4</sup> emphasises for the "individuality" of languages.

This brief survey helps us to see how comparative descriptive methods have been applied in different branches of linguistics and what precise use CDL can have in comparison of varieties of the same language functioning in two different contexts. In this case then the Indianness or the Englishness is determined by the differences in the contexts. In this study a preliminary attempt has been made towards comparison of contexts and lexis.

<sup>1</sup>For instance, the lexical differences in Australian and American English which can be explained by geographical, climatic and typical social conditions of these regions.

<sup>2</sup>In case of certain languages, e.g. English, Hindi, there is more than one norm - at least in spoken form - which raises the problem of treating one as the norm.

<sup>3</sup>In this study we have treated BE as the norm for IE on the basis of historical reasons.

<sup>4</sup>see Ellis op.cit. "Some Problems." p.56.

PART II. DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON.



10. PRELIMINARY STUDY IN COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION  
 (i) THE VERBAL GROUP (ii) THE NOMINAL GROUP

10. 1.0. We have already mentioned (4. 9.1.0. and 9. 5.2.) that comparative descriptive statements may be made about two or more languages (which are 'related' or 'unrelated') or "varieties" of a language at any level or (inter) levels. In the following sections we have attempted a preliminary analysis of the verbal group (Abb. VG) and the nominal group (Abb. NG) in IE and BE.

10. 1.1. The text under discussion is taken from "the same" RL of Parliament Debates in the Indian Parliament and the British Parliament.<sup>1</sup> "The same" RL does not imply that the text belongs to "the same" context of situation, since in one case it is determined by Indian contexts and in the other case by British context.

10. 1.2. In this study we have attempted to investigate:
- (i) the deviations in the structures and systems of verbalization and nominalization;
  - (ii) the percentages of such deviations, and whether they are statistically significant or not.

THE VERBAL GROUP

10. 2.0. The analysis of the VG is based on the following VGs:

- (i) Indian English, 2352 and (ii) British English, 2372.

10. 2.1. In English the VG has the following primary classes:

- (i) finite ( $V^f$ ) and (ii) non-finite ( $V^{nf}$ ). In this study in addition to these two, the VG with "post position" (e.g. walked up, is walking up) though not forming a distinct class, has been treated as a separate category.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cf. section 1. 2.0. (iii) and foot note 1 on the same page.  
<sup>2</sup>cf. 10. 17.0. for a very brief comparison of the VG + "post position".

10. 2.2. The frequency of the above two<sup>1</sup> classes in the two texts is:

ITEM	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
V <sup>f</sup>	1699	72.24	1667	70.28
V <sup>nf</sup>	653	27.76	705	29.72

10. 2.3. We have not related the elements of VG to clause (K1) classes. But, if K1. is free VG must be in V<sup>f</sup>; if it is bound, it may also have -ing, to, or other V<sup>nf</sup> forms.

10. 3.0. The V<sup>f</sup> forms have been analysed<sup>2</sup> as follows: The V<sup>f</sup> may have from one to five "elements". The maximum V<sup>f</sup> with 5- elements is: could have been being eaten.<sup>3</sup> If there is only one, this is V or V<sup>d</sup> (e.g. writes/wrote).

10. 4.0. In this study the longest VG contained four "elements". The following Table shows the occurrences of the maximum extension of V in two texts.

TEXT	Single element		Two elements		Three elements		Four elements	
	fre- quency	%	fre- Quency	%	Fre- quency	%	fre- quency	%
IE	834	49.09	644	37.90	198	11.65	23	1.35
BE	821	49.25	638	38.04	194	11.64	14	0.84

<sup>1</sup>V<sup>f</sup> and V<sup>nf</sup>

<sup>2</sup>We have followed the analysis of J. C. Catford. See his English Grammar, Washington D.C. 1961 (Mimeographed)

<sup>3</sup>M<sup>d</sup> X<sup>1</sup> X<sup>n</sup> X<sup>g</sup> V<sup>n</sup>



10. 4.1. In both the texts the maximum extension has been of four "elements", IE has the highest frequency of the maximum extension, the difference being 1.49%. The occurrence of 2-element  $V^f$ s is higher in BE by 0.14%.

10. 5.0. An adjunct may occur within a verbal group, that is, it may be inserted between any two verbal elements in a VG.

e.g. really in I have (really) taken,

I (really) could have taken,

(really) I could have taken.

A count was made of the frequency of occurrences of such inserted items in the corpus. (cf. 10. 5.4.)

10. 5.1. There is no restriction on the unit which can be inserted in this way within a VG; it may be of any rank excluding a sentence.

10. 5.2. In the two texts the frequency of inserted items is as follows:

IE	44	(2.58%) <sup>1</sup>
BE	42	(2.51%)

10. 5.3. The inserted items have further been classified according to their grammatical ranks, as follows:

- (i) unit word<sup>2</sup>
  - (a) simple,
  - (b) compound,
- (ii) unit group : class adverbial
  - (a) endocentric<sup>3</sup>
  - (b) exocentric,

<sup>1</sup>The percentages have been taken from the total  $V^f$  forms.

<sup>2</sup>Items like also, still, now, more, just, most, have been treated as simple and items like certainly, really as compound.

<sup>3</sup>Constructions like very well, very much, straightway, are endocentric and in the end, at present are exocentric. In the corpus no item above the group rank was found.

The unit at the word rank has the highest frequency in both the texts. A small number of rNG type phrases are also inserted. Their frequency is: IE 9, that is 20.46 per cent, BE 8, that is 20.47 per cent.

10. 5.4. TABLE SHOWING FREQUENCY OF INSERTED ITEMS.

ITEM	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1. unit word: a) simple	20	45.45	18	42.85
b) compound	12	27.27	13	29.54
2. unit group: a) endocentric	3	6.82	3	7.14
b) exocentric	9	20.46	8	20.47

10. 6.0. The  $V^f$  has been described in terms of seven bi-nary oppositions or correlative categories.<sup>1</sup> The categories do not take into account the contextual or the situational meaning.

1. Non-interrogative	<u>Interrogative</u>
2. Non-negative	<u>Negative</u>
3. Non-passive	<u>Passive</u>
4. Non-preterite	<u>Preterite</u>
5. Non-continuous	<u>Continuous</u>
6. Non-perfect	<u>Perfect</u>
7. Non-modalized	<u>Modalized</u>

<sup>1</sup>cf. Catford, 'Grammar'.<sup>22</sup>



10. 6.1. The frequency of the above marked<sup>1</sup> members is given below

Correlative Category	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1. Interrogative	50	2.94	28	1.68
2. Negative	150	8.83	97	5.82
3. Passive	232	13.65	219	13.14
4. Preterite	360	21.19	385	23.09
5. Continuous	98	5.77	98	5.88
6. Perfect	175	10.30	153	9.18
7. Modalized	204	12.01	275	16.50

10. 7.0. Interrogative: In IE the interrogative forms are 1.26% higher. The more frequent use of forms like does the member think in IE has, perhaps, made this difference.

Structure	IE		BE	
	frequency	%	frequency	%
xv <sup>2</sup>	16	32.00	12	42.86
M(x)v <sup>3</sup>	21	42.00	9	32.14
v <sup>4</sup>	13	26.00	7	25.00

<sup>1</sup>cf. R. Quirk The Teaching of English, Studies in Communication 3, London, 1959, p.39. "Now, in these binary oppositions, it is common to find one member regarded as more neutral or more normal than the other: the contrast is relatively unmarked in one member and relatively marked in the other; in other words, the polarity is not equal between the opposing pairs."

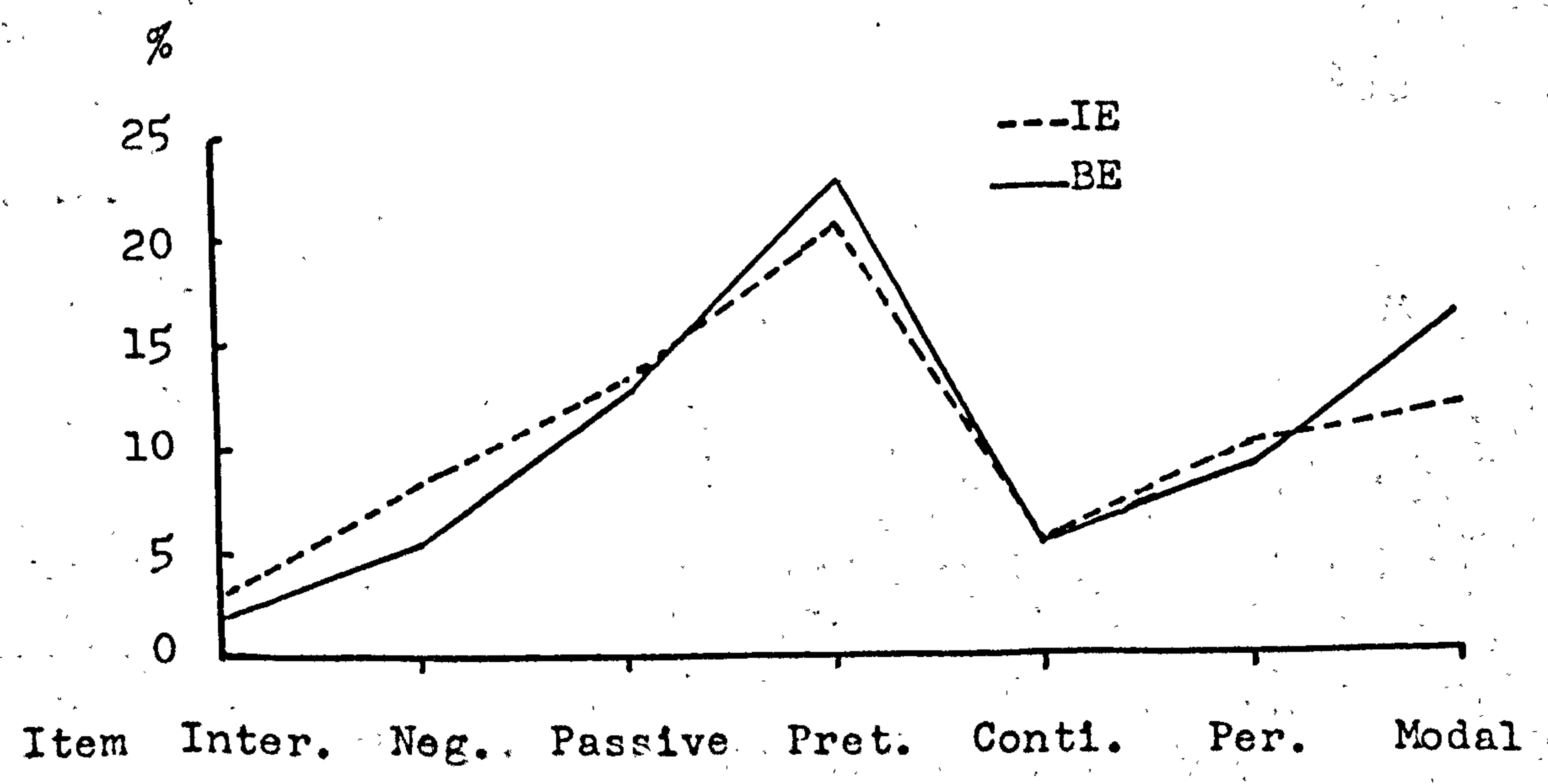
<sup>2</sup>is it claimed

<sup>3</sup>would not N agree

<sup>4</sup>is it likely

GRAPH SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF THE MARKED MEMBERS OF  $V^f$   
IN IE AND BE

(Reference: 10. 6.1.)





10. 7.1. The frequency of the modals in interrogative structures is:

Item	IE	BE
<u>will</u>	8	-
<u>may</u>	11	-
<u>can</u>	1	5
<u>shall</u>	1	-
<u>would</u>	-	4

10. 8.0. In IE the negative forms are higher by 3.1%. The following structures of negative have been abstracted.

Structure	IE		BE	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
XV <sup>1</sup>	88	58.67	33	34.02
M(X)V <sup>2</sup>	37	24.67	39	40.21
V <sup>3</sup>	25	16.66	25	25.77

10. 8.1. The following modals precede the negators:

Modal	IE	BE
<u>shall</u>	-	4
<u>can</u>	16	21
<u>could</u>	2	4
<u>may</u>	4	1
<u>might</u>	-	1
<u>would</u>	5	6
<u>should</u>	4	4
<u>will</u>	5	3
<u>must</u>	1	1

<sup>1</sup>N do not know

<sup>2</sup>N may not sound

<sup>3</sup>N is not possible

10. 8.2. In 10. 8.0. we have referred to the three negative structures. In the following Table we give occurrences of the preverbs which operate in the structure No.1 XV

TABLE SHOWING THE PREVERBS IN NEGATIVE STRUCTURE I

ITEM	IE	BE
1. forms of "be"	19(21.84%)	7(17.95%)
<u>is</u>	4	3
<u>are</u>	11	2
<u>am</u>	1	2
<u>was</u>	1	-
<u>were</u>	2	-
2. forms of "have"	19(21.84%)	10(25.64%)
<u>has</u>	7	3
<u>had</u>	2	-
<u>have</u>	10	7
3. forms of "do"	49(56.32%)	22(56.41%)
<u>does</u>	10	4
<u>do</u>	34	17
<u>did</u>	5	1

10. 8.3. In IE there are five occurrences of interrogative negative, for example, is it not a fact that. All the five occurrences are of the same structure. In BE there are two occurrences. The first, is this not and the second, did they not.

10. 9.0. Passive. The difference of 0.51% in passive forms in IE is not significant. Passivity, however, has shown certain register



differences in other studies.<sup>1</sup>

10. 10.0. Preterite. The preterite forms are 1.90% higher in BE. The difference apparently does not seem very significant.

10. 11.0. Continuous. In terms of frequency the two texts have the same occurrences, we could, however, say in terms of percentages BE text has 0.11% higher occurrences.

10. 12.0. Perfect. In IE the perfect forms are 1.12% higher.

10. 13.0. Modalised. BE text has 4.49% more modal forms than IE text.

10. 13. 1. In the range of eleven modals<sup>2</sup> discussed here, we find that in BE, the maximum number of eleven has been used. In IE text only ten members of the modal group are present, and five of them have a percentage of 2.94 or less, the maximum being 0.49% for used to.

In the pair of could and might the BE text has 2.88% and 1.80% respectively, higher.

Shall and should are significantly less in IE text, the difference being 3.75% and 12.54% respectively.

Must is 3.37% higher in BE and ought to does not occur at all in IE, in BE it is 0.73%.

<sup>1</sup>See R. Aronson A Comparative Analysis of English Verb Usage in the restricted language of fiction and the natural and social sciences as represented by three contemporary English texts. University of Edinburgh Dissertation, 1959.

<sup>2</sup>can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would, used to, ought to, must.

## 10. 13.2. TABLE SHOWING THE FREQUENCY OF MODALS.

ITEM	IE <sup>1</sup>		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<u>shall</u>	2	0.98	13	4.73
<u>should</u>	13	6.37	52	18.91
<u>will</u>	71	34.80	52	18.91
<u>would</u>	56	27.45	47	17.09
<u>can</u>	23	11.27	39	14.18
<u>could</u>	6	2.94	16	5.82
<u>may</u>	24	11.76	28	10.18
<u>might</u>	3	1.47	9	3.27
<u>must</u>	5	2.45	6	5.82
<u>ought to</u>	-	-	2	0.73
<u>used to</u>	1	0.49	1	0.36

10. 13.3. In order to make a comparative statement on the uses of modals in three different registers of IE and BE, we took a small corpus of 1,000 verb forms from IE and BE. It consisted:

- (i) 500 VFs from the 'Letters to Editor' columns of IE newspapers;
- (ii) 500 VFs from the 'leaders' of IE newspapers.

The same number of VFs was taken from the 'same' registers of BE.

The variations (see following Table) might help us to observe if there are any significant "register differences" in the use of modals.

<sup>1</sup>The percentages are out of total modals in the two texts.



TABLE SHOWING FREQUENCY OF MODALS IN TWO REGISTERS

ITEM	Register: Editorials				Register: Letters to Editor			
	IE		BE		IE		BE	
	fre- quency	%	fre- quency	%	fre- quency	%	fre- quency	%
<u>shall</u>	-	-	2	0.4	2	0.4	3	0.6
<u>should</u>	35	7.0	25	5.0	39	7.8	34	6.8
<u>will</u>	32	6.4	40	8.0	54	10.8	52	10.4
<u>would</u>	43	8.6	50	10.0	25	5.0	60	12.0
<u>can</u>	27	5.4	26	5.2	32	6.4	31	6.2
<u>could</u>	12	2.4	16	3.2	10	2.0	12	2.4
<u>may</u>	18	3.6	31	6.2	23	4.6	32	6.4
<u>might</u>	7	1.4	7	1.4	2	0.4	9	1.8
<u>must</u>	9	1.8	9	1.8	8	1.6	9	1.8
<u>ought to</u>	1	0.2	6	1.2	-	-	2	0.4
<u>used to</u>	-	-	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-

GRAPH SHOWING FREQUENCY OF MODALS IN LETTERS TO EDITOR  
IN IE AND BE

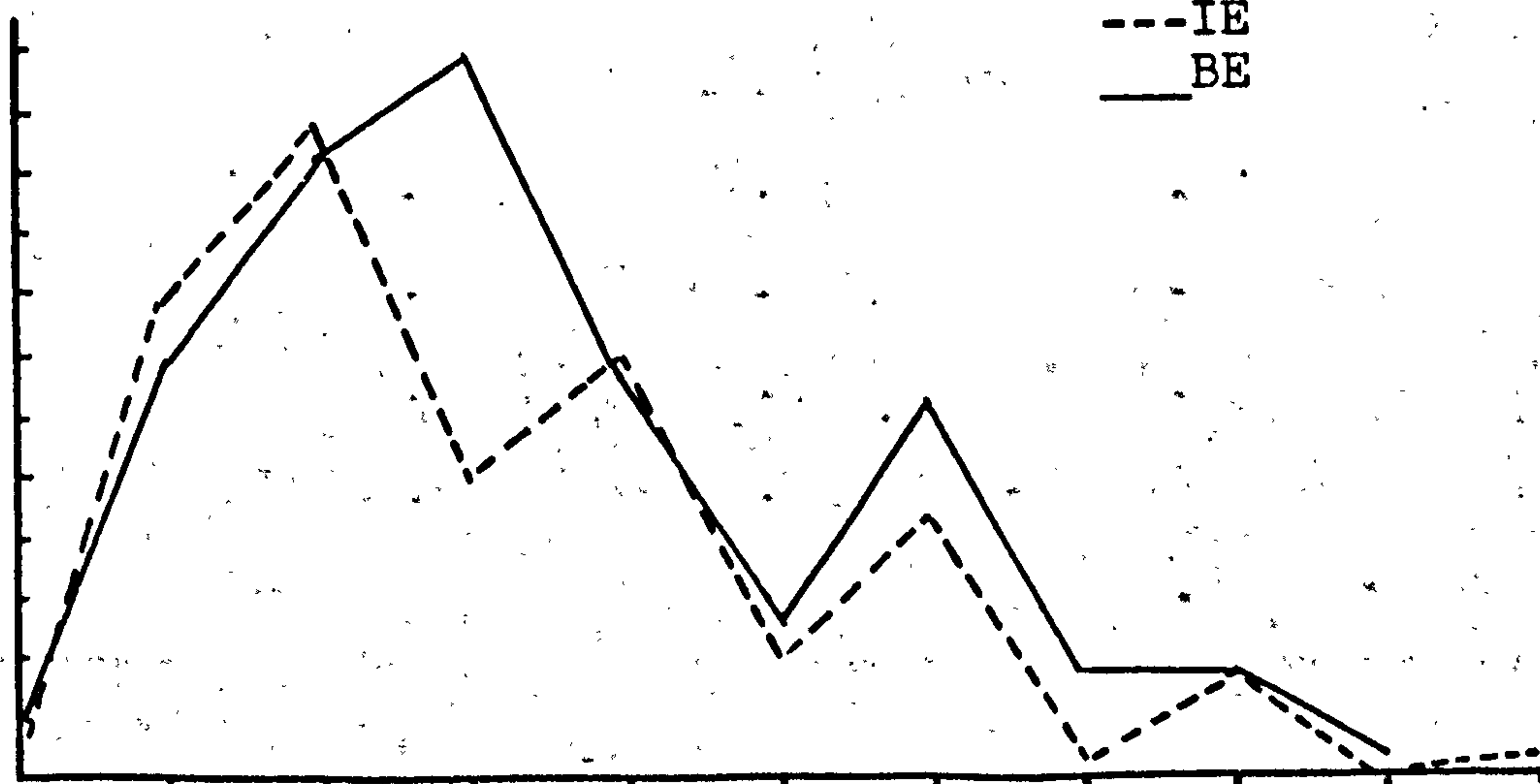
(Reference: 10. 13.3.)

Frequency

60  
55  
50  
45  
40  
35  
30  
25  
20  
15  
10  
5  
0

--- IE  
— BE

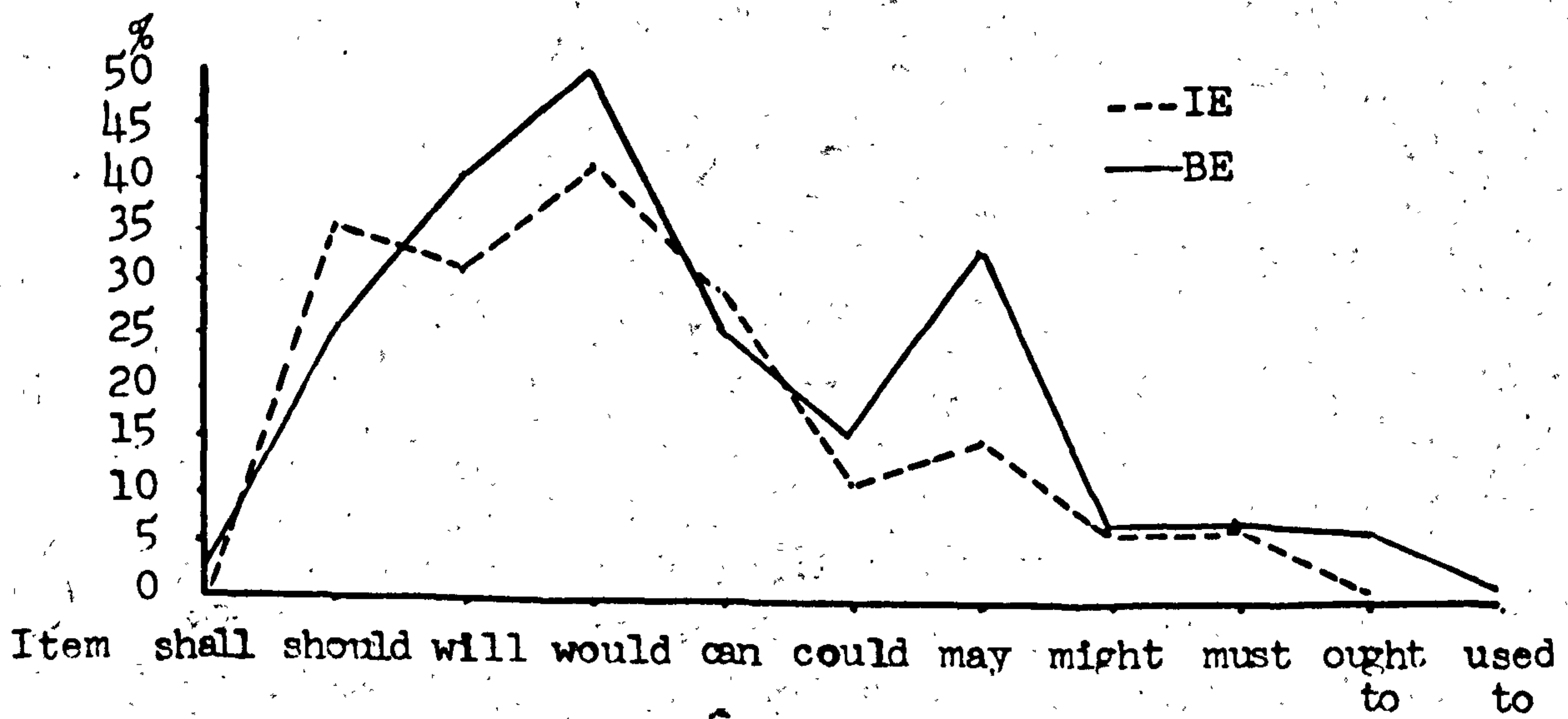
Item shall should will would can could may might must ought used  
to to





GRAPH SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF MODALS IN "EDITORIALS"  
IN IE AND BE

(Reference: 10. 13.3.)



## 10. 13.4. TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF MODALS IN THREE REGISTRARS

ITEM	IE			BE		
	Edi- torials	Letters to Editor	Debates (Parlia- ment)	Edi- torials	Letters to Editor	Debates (Parlia- ment)
<u>shall</u>	-	0.4	0.98	0.4	0.6	4.73
<u>should</u>	7.0	7.8	6.37	5.0	6.8	18.91
<u>will</u>	6.4	10.8	34.80	8.0	10.4	18.91
<u>would</u>	8.6	5.0	27.45	10.0	12.0	17.09
<u>can</u>	5.4	6.4	11.27	5.2	6.2	14.18
<u>could</u>	2.4	2.0	2.94	3.2	2.4	5.82
<u>may</u>	3.6	4.6	11.76	6.2	6.4	10.18
<u>might</u>	1.4	0.4	1.47	1.4	1.8	3.27
<u>must</u>	1.8	1.6	2.45	1.8	1.8	5.82
<u>ought to</u>	0.2	-	-	1.2	0.4	0.73
<u>used to</u>	-	0.2	0.49	0.2	-	0.36

On the basis of the above evidence, we could, perhaps say that in the register of a variety itself there are differences, which we term 'register differences', and they become marked when the spoken and the written registers are analysed. For instance, when we examine 'editorials' and 'letters to editor' and the Debates.

10. 14.0. Pro-verbs: A pro-verb is one of the items "do/does, did" which substitutes for any verbal item which has already been used in the same or a previous Kl., for instance, he works better than you do; here do can be regarded as substituting for a second occurrence of work.

In IE there are two occurrences of Pro-Verb and in BE five



occurrences. The exponents are:

ITEM	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<u>did</u>	1	0.05	2	0.11
<u>do</u>	1	0.05	3	0.17

10. 14.1. The non-finite VG ( $V^{nf}$ ) consists of from one to three elements (with or without to). If one element only, then  $V^1$  (go, to go),  $V^g$  (giving). If more than one, the final element is  $V^g$  or  $V^n$  and preceding elements are  $X^1$ ,  $X^g$ , and  $X^n$  (having gone, (to) have been going).

10. 14.2. In this study  $V^{nf}$  have been classified into four classes:

- (i) "to" infinitive ("to" followed by  $X^1$  or  $V^1$ )
- (ii) zero infinitive (first element is  $X^1$  or  $V^1$ )<sup>1</sup>
- (iii) present participle (taking, being taken)

10. 15.0. The infinitive forms have been discussed as follows:

1. Infinitive as nominal:

(a) Head of a nominal group.

(b) Q in a nominal group.

2. Infinitive as predicator (P).

3. Infinitive as  $P^2$ .

10. 15.1. Infinitive as nominal:

(a) Head of a nominal group: (subject in K1 structure)

(e.g., to err is human). In IE there are 14 occurrences and in BE

<sup>1</sup>In this study we have not counted items with zero infinitive.

16 occurrences, that is, 3.0% in IE and 4.4% in BE.

10. 15.2. Infinitive as predicator in Kl. structure: The examples like "I have asked him to do" or " to get to the station you take the first<sup>turn</sup> on the left", have been treated as P in Kl. structure. In IE we have 40 occurrences and in BE 81. That is 6.0 percent in IE and 11.5 percent in BE.

10. 15.3. Infinitive as P<sup>2</sup>: In certain cases infinitive may follow finite VG in Kl. structure, as in, "have undertaken to do it". Such forms have been treated as predicator<sup>2</sup>. IE text has 252 and BE 193 occurrences. That is, 38.6% in IE and 27.4% in BE.

10. 15.4. TABLE SHOWING FREQUENCY OF INFINITIVE IN DIFFERENT POSITIONS

POSITION	IE		BE	
	Frequency	% <sup>1</sup>	Frequency	%
Infinitive as Head of an NG	14	2.1	16	2.3
Infinitive as Q in NG	20	3.0	31	4.4
Infinitive as P in Kl. structure	40	6.0	81	11.5
Infinitive as P <sup>2</sup>	252	38.6	193	27.4
Total	326		321	

10. 16.0. The following functions of present participle have been noted:

1. present participle as nominal:

- (i) Head of a nominal group
- (ii) Q in a nominal group
- (iii) M in a nominal group

<sup>1</sup>The percentages are from total V<sup>nf</sup> forms.



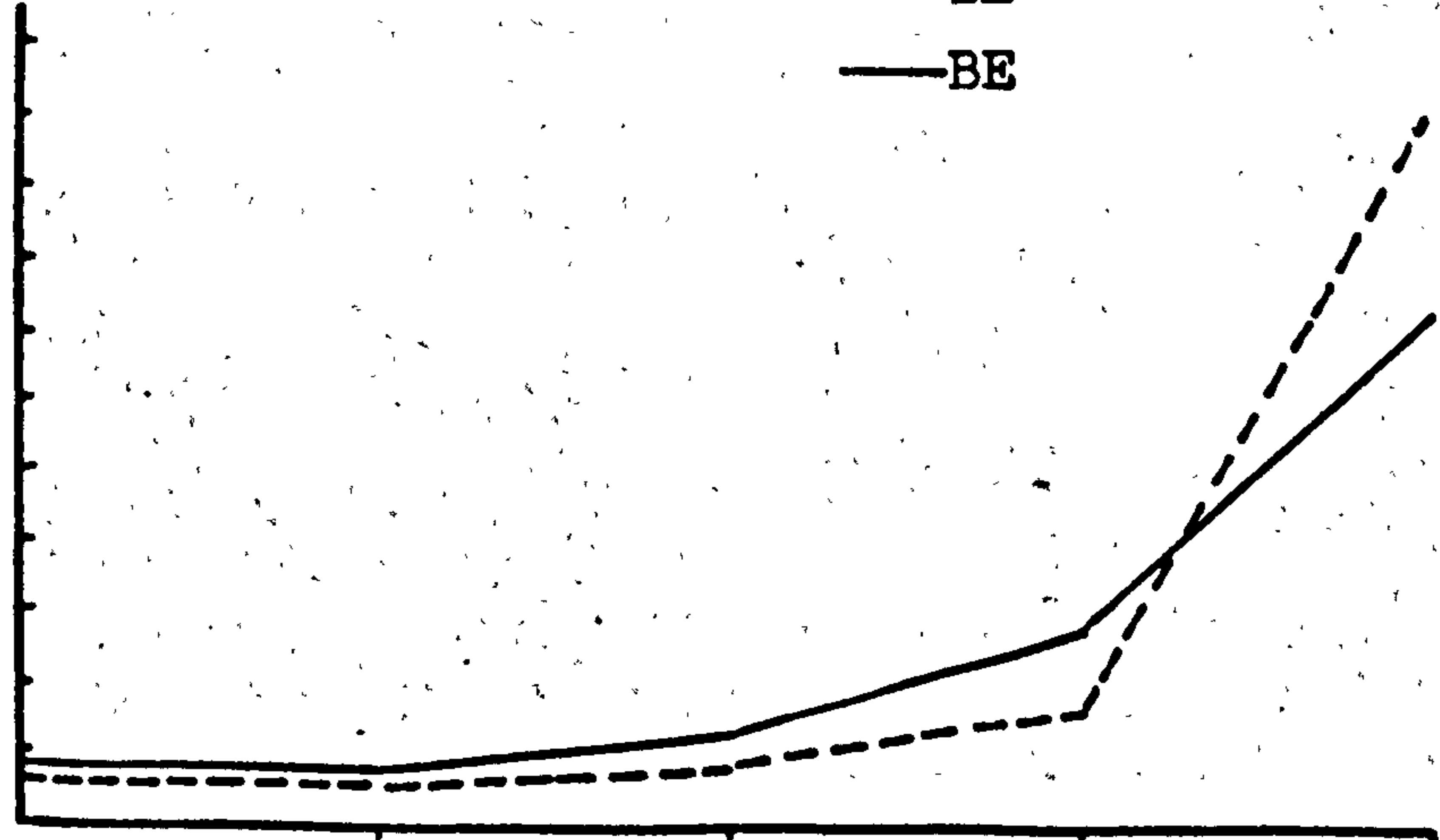
GRAPH SHOWING VARIATIONS IN INFINITIVE  
IN DIFFERENT POSITIONS

(Reference: 10. 15.4.)

Frequency

275  
250  
225  
200  
175  
150  
125  
100  
75  
50  
25

---IE  
—BE



Item

H of NG    Q in NG    P in kl    P<sup>2</sup> in kl

- . present participle as P in K1. structure.
- 3. present participle as P<sup>2</sup> in K1. structure.

10. 16.1. Present participle as nominal:

(i) Head of a nominal group: Present participle may function as a subject or complement in K1. structure, such a function is nominalization of the -ing form, (e.g. the training for teachers; driving is dangerous). There are 64 occurrences of -ing in this position in IE and 58 in BE. That is, 9.8%<sup>1</sup> in IE and 8.2% in BE;

(ii) Q in a nominal group: In the post head position present participle may qualify the head of an NG (e.g. the man driving; the people waiting). There are 37 occurrences in IE and 87 in BE. That is 5.6% in IE and 12.3% in BE.

(iii) M in a nominal group: In the examples like "the working masses" the function of working has been treated as modifier in an NG. In IE there are 54 such occurrences and in BE 62. That is 8.3% in IE and 8.8% in BE.

10. 16.2. Further, the position of a nominalized -ing in an NG, as a modifier is given in the following Table:

TEXT	-ing as modifier 1	-ing as modifier 2	-ing as modifier 3
IE	16	34	4
BE	29	29	4

In IE the -ing form is preceded by t<sup>1</sup> only once and in BE 3 times. The t<sup>d</sup> preceeds an -ing form 33 times in IE and 25 times in BE.

<sup>1</sup>The percentages are taken from the total V<sup>nf</sup> in the two texts.



10. 16.3. Present participle as P in Kl. structure: The -ing form may operate as P in Kl. structure, (e.g., 'after having concluded his speech). In IE there are 17 occurrences and in BE 34 occurrences. That is 2.6 percent in IE and 4.8 percent in BE.

10. 16.4. Present participle as P<sup>2</sup> in Kl. structure: There is not a large number of verbs which function at P<sup>1</sup> where P<sup>2</sup> has -ing, the types like "keep going;" "he started running." It is interesting to note that in BE there are no occurrences of such combinations and in IE the following 4 occurrences (0.6%) were noted, started working (3 occurrences) will stop importing.

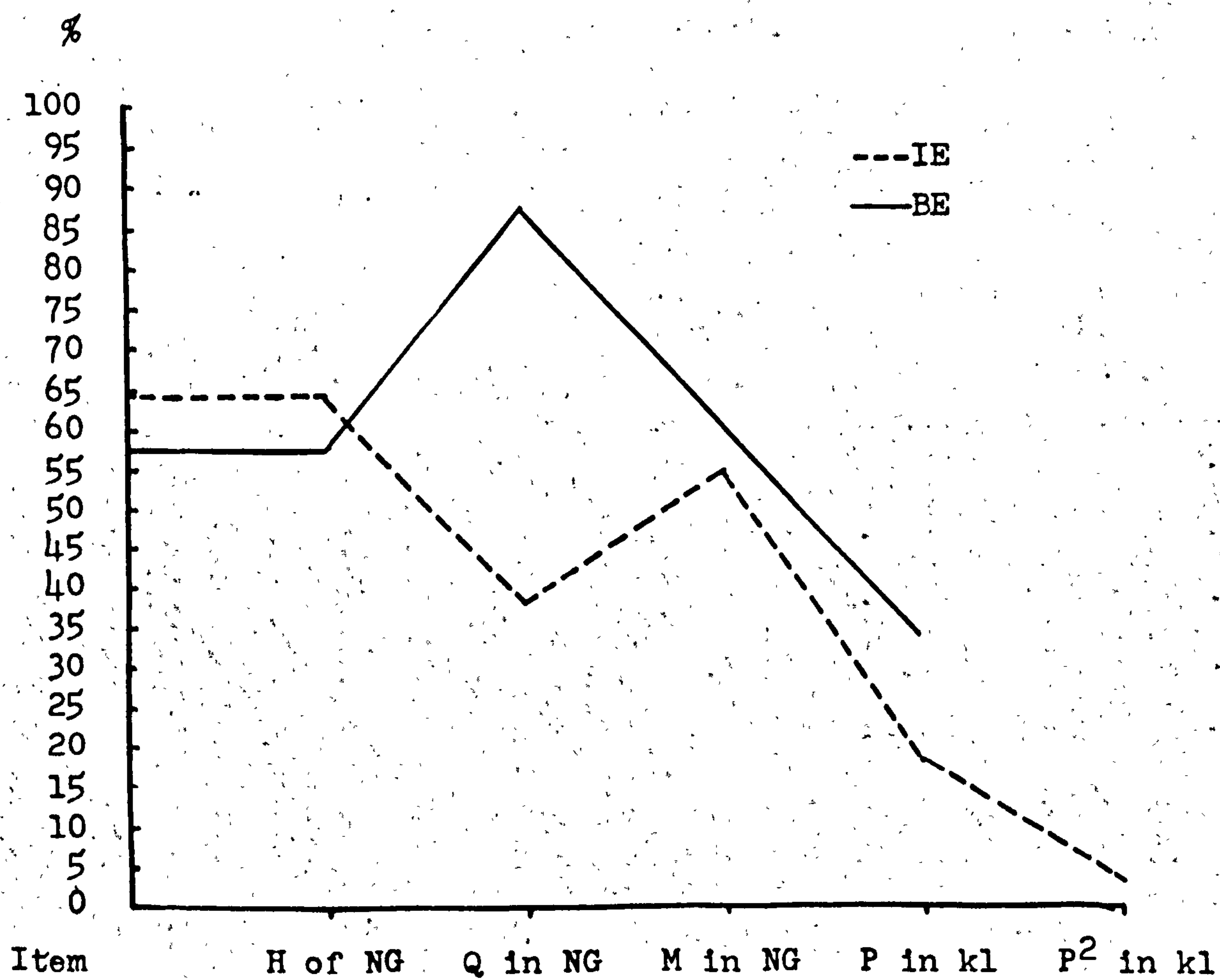
10. 16.5. TABLE SHOWING FREQUENCY OF PRESENT PARTICIPLE  
IN DIFFERENT POSITIONS

POSITION	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
as Head of NG	64	9.8	58	8.2
as Q in NG	37	5.6	87	12.3
as M in NG	54	8.3	62	8.8
as P in Kl. structure	17	2.6	37	4.8
as P <sup>2</sup> in Kl. structure	4	0.6	-	-
Total	176		241	

10. 17.0. Phrasal Verbs: There are some VGs which contain a post position (cf. 10. 2.1), in the VG "was sitting down", the item "sitting down" operates as a single VG. If the post position is altered the function of the group may be different. This group of verbs has been termed phrasal verbs.

GRAPH SHOWING VARIATIONS IN PRESENT PARTICIPLE  
IN DIFFERENT POSITIONS

(Reference: 10. 16.5.)





Mitchell<sup>1</sup> points out that this group of verbs in English can be better classified, if they are treated as a single unit; such units - of higher than the word rank - can be identified by means of (i) particle position (ii) adverbial position (iii) stress (iv) intonation.

In he turned off/the light, there is the possibility of changing the position of off, after the object the light, which is absent in he turned off the road<sup>2</sup>. We, then, would say, turned off, in the first example and in the second example are functioning differently, and belong to two different classes. The item "turned off" in the first example is a phrasal verb.

In a comparative study of IE and BE we found a significant difference in the use of such forms in the two texts. In IE we have 31 (1.82%) occurrences and in BE 12 (0.72%) occurrences. IE text has 1.10% more phrasal verbs.

<sup>1</sup>See T. F. Mitchell. "Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis". TPS 1958. Mitchell, rightly, points out: "It is the word-class approach that explains the tendency to regard particle component of the English phrasal verb as either preposition or adverb rather than as one grammatical piece with the Verbal Component."

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

10. 17.1. TABLE SHOWING THE POST POSITIONS IN PHRASAL VERBS.

ITEM	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<u>along</u>	-	00.00	1	8.3
<u>down</u>	12	38.8	1	8.3
<u>into</u>	4	12.9	-	00.00
<u>out</u>	4	12.9	7	58.4
<u>over</u>	1	3.2	-	00.00
<u>on</u>	2	6.5	-	00.00
<u>through</u>	1	3.2	-	00.00
<u>up</u>	6	19.3	3	25.0
<u>upon</u>	1	3.2	-	00.00



10. 18.0. Summary of the Verbal Group: In the RL under discussion a comparative analysis of the VG shows certain interesting deviations as we go deeper in delicacy. At the primary degree of delicacy, the differences are not very significant, perhaps, that is understandable since a conscious attempt was made to choose the Indian text from the upper point on the cline of bilingualism. The differences, however, become marked as we analyse the differences in the elements which operate in the structures.

In a comparative analysis we have to make a distinction between:

- (i) those deviations which are contextually significant;
- (ii) those deviations which are "stylistically" significant.

In (i) we include the differences of negation, interrogation, person, and in (ii) aspect, mood, and the time categories. In fact, the above (i) and (ii) are inter-related in the sense that it is difficult to separate one from the other. We also find that in certain cases the differences are of <sup>relative</sup> statistical frequencies and on a limited corpus it is rather difficult to make any general statements about such differences. But, that does not exclude the possibility of such differences being important if a larger corpus confirms them.

A general summary of the deviations is as follows:

1. The difference in the use of  $V^f$  and  $V^{nf}$  does not show a marked deviation. IE text has a higher percentage of 1.96 of the  $V^f$  forms and BE text has 1.96 percent higher  $V^{nf}$  forms.
2. In extension of  $V^f$  (cf. 3.0.) IE has the highest frequency, that is, 1.35 percent. The difference between the two texts is of 1.49 percent.

3. In the insertion of Adjuncts within the  $V^f$  (4.0.) IE shows 0.07 percent. inserted items.

Chi-squared Test: For finding statistical significance of the correlative categories (cf. 5.0.) we applied the  $\chi^2$ -test (Chi-squared test) to see whether the differences are significant or not. The test showed that in the case of the following three categories the differences were statistically significant:

1. Interrogative. 2. Negative. 3. Modalized..

In the case of the other four categories (i.e. passive, preterite, continuous, perfect) the differences are not significant. As we have said earlier, these results are based on a very limited corpus, hence the results cannot be generalized.<sup>1</sup>

Pro-verb: In IE there are two occurrences of pro-verb and in BE five occurrences.

The  $V^{nf}$ : BE text has 0.35 percent more  $V^{nf}$  forms.

Infinitive: In the  $V^{nf}$ , the infinitive forms show the following deviation:

Form	IE	BE
Infinitive as Head of NG		+ .2
Q in nominal group		+ 1.4
Infinitive as predicator (P) Kl. structure		+ 5.5
Infinitive as $P^2$	+ 11.2	

Present participle: The ing form shows a higher frequency in

<sup>1</sup>A full analysis of all the categories is given in the main section, cf. 5.0. to 12.2.



in BE text. The distribution is as follows:

Form	IE	BE
Head of nominal group	+ 1.6	
Q in a nominal group		+ 6.7
M in a nominal group		+ .5
P in Kl. structure		+ 2.2
P <sup>2</sup> in Kl. structure	0.6	nil

Phrasal verbs: IE has + 1.10 percent phrasal verbs.

### (11) THE NOMINAL GROUP

10. 19.0. By the nominal group (Abb. NG) is meant an element in clause (Abb. Kl.) which operates syntactically in the position of subject or complement.

An NG is an endocentric construction comprising one or more elements. The primary elements of group structure are the head (always present), modifier, and qualifier. In the example a good house, house is the head (Abb. H) and a and good are modifiers (Abb. M).

10. 19.1. An NG may have modifier(s) and/or qualifier(s):

(i) modifier is an element which precedes a head;

(ii) qualifier is an element which follows a head.

For example, in the recent statement of the government of India, we have both, the modifiers (Abb. M) and the qualifier (Abb. Q). The structure of the above NG may be given as:

NG : M(M<sup>1</sup>M<sup>2</sup>)HQ ; the Q consists of three elements rHQ(rH). In Q position we have a "recurssive" Q, i.e. of the government of India.

10. 19.2. The elements of an NG in English may be; M, H, Q, and one structure may comprise, one two or all the elements. The structure can be H; MH; HQ; MHQ.

10. 20.0. In English, the maximum extension of elements occupying M position has been given as from six<sup>1</sup> to thirteen<sup>2</sup>. The maximum extension found in text is up to six.

10. 20.1. The element M may be broken into secondary structures.

We have taken the following four positions of M as significant:

				M
1	2	3	4	
(D)	(N)	(E)	(Sb.)	

1. Deictics: e.g. a, all, both, half, his, other, such, this.

The elements in D position can have three sequence places.

(a) D<sup>1</sup>, all, both, half, such;

(b) D<sup>2</sup>, a, every, his, some, the;

(c) D<sup>3</sup>, other, etc.

2. Numerals: ten, tenth. These items must be between D and E.

The meaning differs according to sequence with NG. The superlatives like best etc. go here.

3. Epithets: The order is meaningful but free.

4. Substantives (or collective nouns): The items like names of stones, colour words.

10. 20.2. The difference between NG in S and C positions is that items with just E cannot function as S though they can take the C position.

<sup>1</sup>See A. Hill, An Introduction to Linguistic Structures, p. 229

<sup>2</sup>See M. M. Claxton, "A Study of Nominal Group". Edinburgh University Dissertation (unpublished) 1960. pp. 54 - 77.



In the Q position we may have:

(a) a preposition or "recursive" prepositions; (b) relative clauses, (c)  $p^f$  and  $p^v$ , etc.

10. 21.0. We took the following corpus for the analysis of NG:

TEXT	TOTAL WORDS	NOMINAL GROUPS	%
IE	14805	4210	28.43
BE	15390	4168	27.03

10. 21.1. The above frequency includes pronouns functioning as NG. If taken separate the frequency of Pronouns is:

IE, 1060, BE, 1024, that is, 25.17 percent in IE and 24.56 percent in BE. (cf. Table No.I)

10. 21.2. TABLE NO. I : SHOWING FREQUENCY OF FORMS OF PRONOUNS IN IE AND BE

Form	Member	IE		BE	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
p		841	79.05	832	78.33
	<u>I</u>	223	26.61	338	42.15
	<u>We</u>	195	23.36	145	18.07
	<u>You</u>	75	8.21	4	0.49
	<u>They</u>	112	13.46	92	11.47
	<u>He</u>	26	3.20	41	5.11
	<u>She</u>	2	0.26	-	-
	<u>It</u>	206	24.58	170	21.12
	<u>One</u>	2	0.35	12	1.59

TABLE NO.I continued.

Form	Member	IE		BE	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
p <sup>1</sup>		74	6.98	79	7.71
	<u>me</u>	10	13.51	17	21.52
	<u>us</u>	31	41.89	18	22.78
	<u>them</u>	19	25.67	33	41.77
	<u>him</u>	13	17.56	11	13.93
	<u>her</u>	1	1.35	-	00.00
p <sup>2</sup>		74	6.98	125	12.20
	<u>my</u>	17	22.97	42	33.60
	<u>our</u>	1	1.35	14	11.20
	<u>your</u>	7	9.45	5	4.00
	<u>their</u>	20	27.02	25	20.00
	<u>his</u>	15	20.27	24	19.20
	<u>its</u>	14	18.94	15	12.00
p <sup>21</sup>		61	5.75	1	0.09
	<u>mine</u>	2	3.28	1	100.0
	<u>ours</u>	59	96.72	-	00.00
p <sup>f</sup>		9	0.85	8	0.78
	<u>myself</u>	1	11.11	2	25.00
	<u>himself</u>	2	22.23	-	00.00
	<u>herself</u>	1	11.11	-	00.00
	<u>itself</u>	5	55.55	6	75.00



TABLE NO.I continued.

Form	Member	IE		BE	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
p <sup>v</sup>		4	0.40	9	0.88
	ourselves	1	25.00	2	22.23
	themselves	3	75.00	7	77.77

10. 22.0. Unqualified NG: A nominal head need not always be modified or qualified. A head without any modifying element preceding it, or any qualifying element following it, is termed an "unqualified" head.

In our data the unqualified NGs have a very low frequency. There were 374, that is 8.88 percent, in IE, and 165, that is 3.95 percent in BE. The IE text shows a significant difference of 4.93 percent higher frequency of the unqualified NG.

The largest number of the unqualified NG is:

- (i) names of countries, like India, Russia, Norway, etc.; or
- (ii) names of towns like London, Delhi, etc.

We have treated hyphenated compounds as single unqualified items, e.g. ware-house.

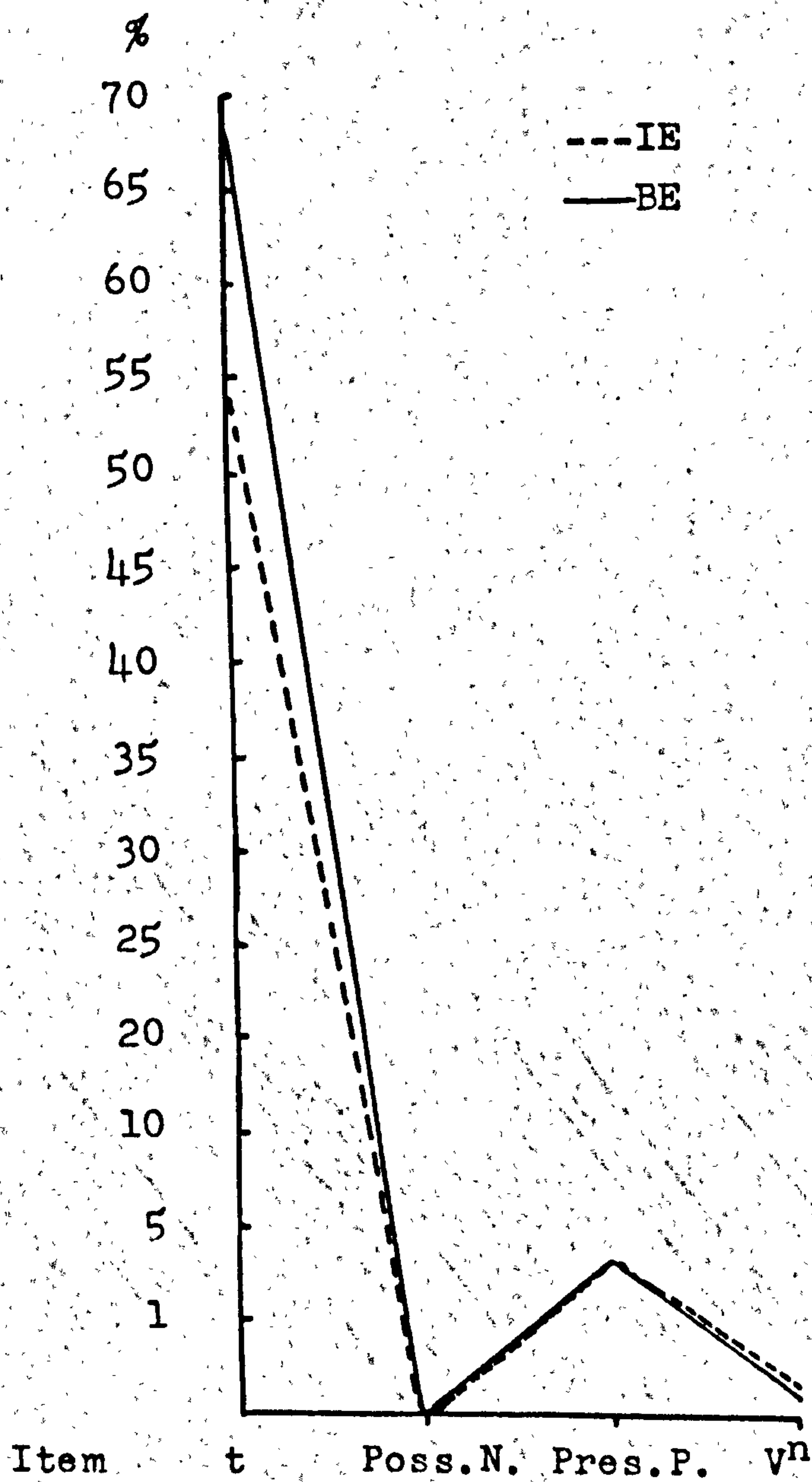
10. 23.0. Modifiers: The following modifying elements have been discussed in this section:

- (i) The articles as modifiers;
- (ii) Possessive noun as modifier;
- (iii) Present participle as modifier;
- (iv) V<sup>n</sup> as modifier.

10. 24.0. Grading of Modifiers: In the following Table the heads of the NG have been graded according to items which precede

## GRAPH SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF MODIFIERS IN IE AND BE

(Reference: 10. 23.0.)





them as modifying elements. The total number of modified heads is 2208, that is 52.0 percent in IE, and 2164, that is 51.9 percent in BE.

10. 24.1. TABLE SHOWING THE GRADING OF MODIFIERS.

Grading	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Modified by one	1470	66.57	1480	68.21
Modified by two	586	26.57	577	26.66
Modified by three	138	6.24	94	4.53
Modified by four	13	0.58	13	0.60
Modified by five <sup>1</sup>	1	0.04	-	-

10. 24.1. The items operating as modifiers in D position are given in the following Table.

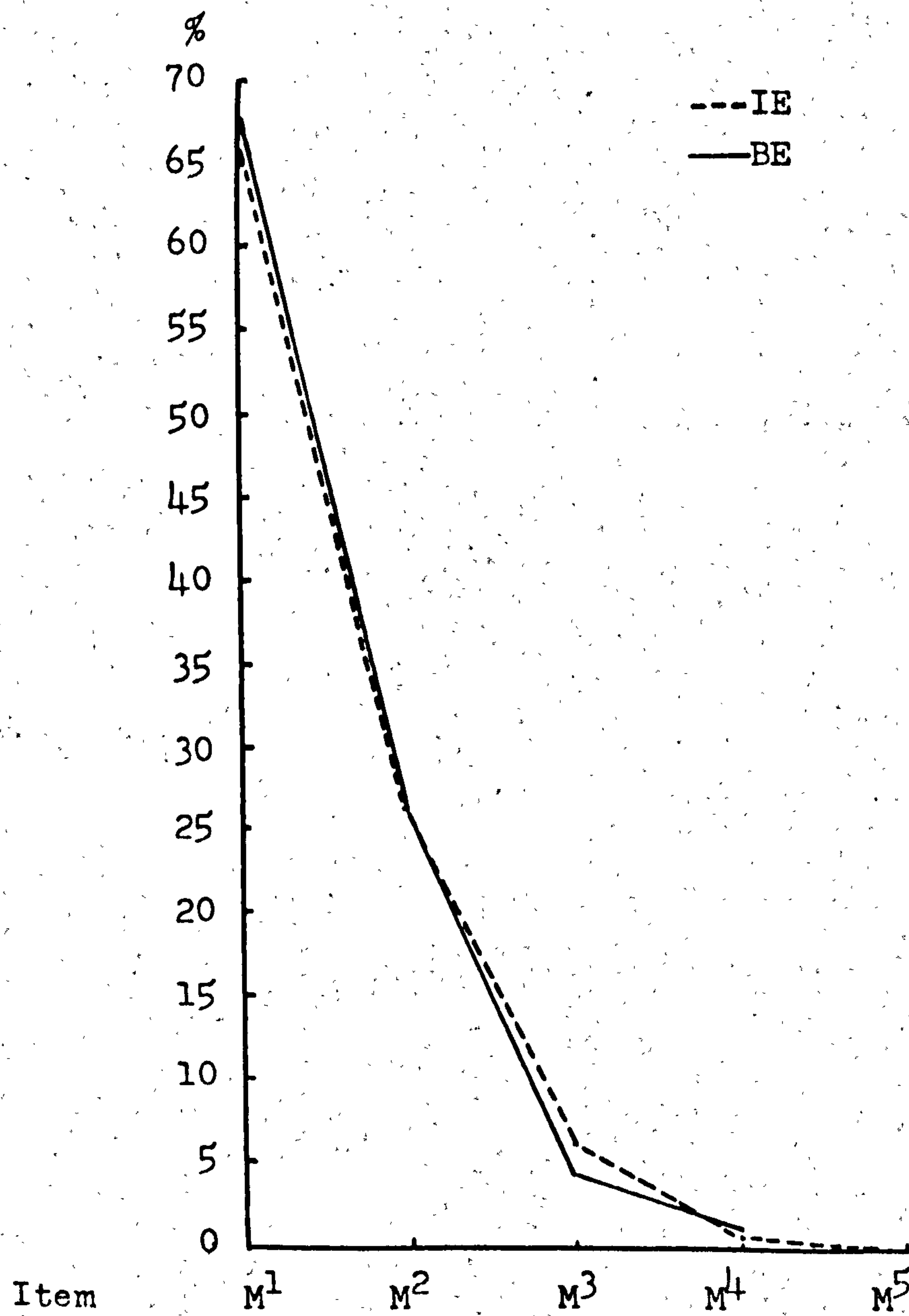
10. 24.3. TABLE SHOWING THE ITEMS WHICH FILL "D" POSITION IN THE TEXTS

Items	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<u>all</u>	19	0.67	20	0.92
<u>any</u>	21	0.95	7	0.32
<u>some</u>	41	1.85	25	1.15
<u>such</u>	7	0.31	9	0.41
<u>that</u>	30	1.35	30	1.38
<u>these</u>	34	1.53	56	2.58
<u>this</u>	125	5.84	85	3.98
<u>those</u>	2	0.09	9	0.41

<sup>1</sup>There was only one example with five modifying elements: a very big foreign exchange earner, if the items foreign exchange were hyphenated, we could treat them as a single item thus reducing the number of modifiers.

## GRAPH SHOWING GRADING OF MODIFIERS IN IE AND BE

(Reference: 10. 24.1.)





In the texts the maximum frequency is of the items operating in  $D^2$  position. IE text has 7.47 percent and BE text 8.68 percent. The items in  $D^3$  position have minimum frequency, of 0.31 percent in IE and 0.09 in BE.

10. 24.4. The articles as Modifiers: In  $D^2$  position the frequency of the articles (i.e. a, an, the) is highest of the prehead modifiers:

Indian English 1204 (54.52%)

British English 1490 (68.85%)

These figures can further be sub-divided as:

Item	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<u>the</u>	957	79.49	1189	79.79
<u>a/an</u>	247	20.51	301	20.21

10. 24.5. The variations in the two texts are:

- (a) In the total frequency of the articles, BE text shows a higher frequency of 14.33%;
- (b) The definite article is 0.24% higher in BE;
- (c) The indefinite article is 0.24% higher in IE.

10. 24.6. Possessive N as Modifier: The frequency of possessive N as modifier (e.g. the farmer's forum, the boat's crew) is very low in the two texts. In IE there are five occurrences (0.22%) and in BE six occurrences (0.27%).

10. 24.7. The Verb as Modifier: The modifying functions of the verb have been discussed in the section on the Verbal group. Here we are giving only the frequencies of the two types of Verb modifiers.

10. 24.7<sup>1</sup> Present participle: The frequency of such forms is 54 (8.3%) in IE, and 62 (8.8%) in BE. (cf. 16.0. (the verbal group).

10. 24.7<sup>2</sup> V<sup>n</sup>: The V<sup>n</sup> forms have 31 occurrences (1.40%) in IE, and 22 occurrences (1.01%) in BE.

10. 25.0. Qualifiers: A qualifier is a unit which occupies the post head position in an NG, for example, the government of Manipur state, the head government has a deictic modifier the, and a prepositional qualifier of Manipur state.

In the Q<sup>1</sup> position we may have:

1. NGs introduced by a preposition, e.g. a leader of opposition.
2. Pronouns in p<sup>f</sup> and p<sup>v</sup> forms: e.g. the industry itself.
3. Relative clauses introduced by relative "that" or W-words (which, who, whose, whom, etc.)
4. A non-finite verb:
  - (a) v<sup>i</sup>
  - (b) v<sup>g</sup>
  - (c) v<sup>n</sup>

10. 25.1. Qualifiers Introduced by Prepositions: A qualifier introduced by a preposition may be termed rN<sub>Q</sub>Qualifiers, that is a "rank shifted"<sup>2</sup> adverbial group. In the two texts they form the largest group in Q position.

In general, in English NG everything at Q position is "rank shifted". (Abb. It may not be a clause, it may be a RS group, e.g. the man in the moon.

The structure of rN<sub>Q</sub><sup>(Q)</sup> may be:

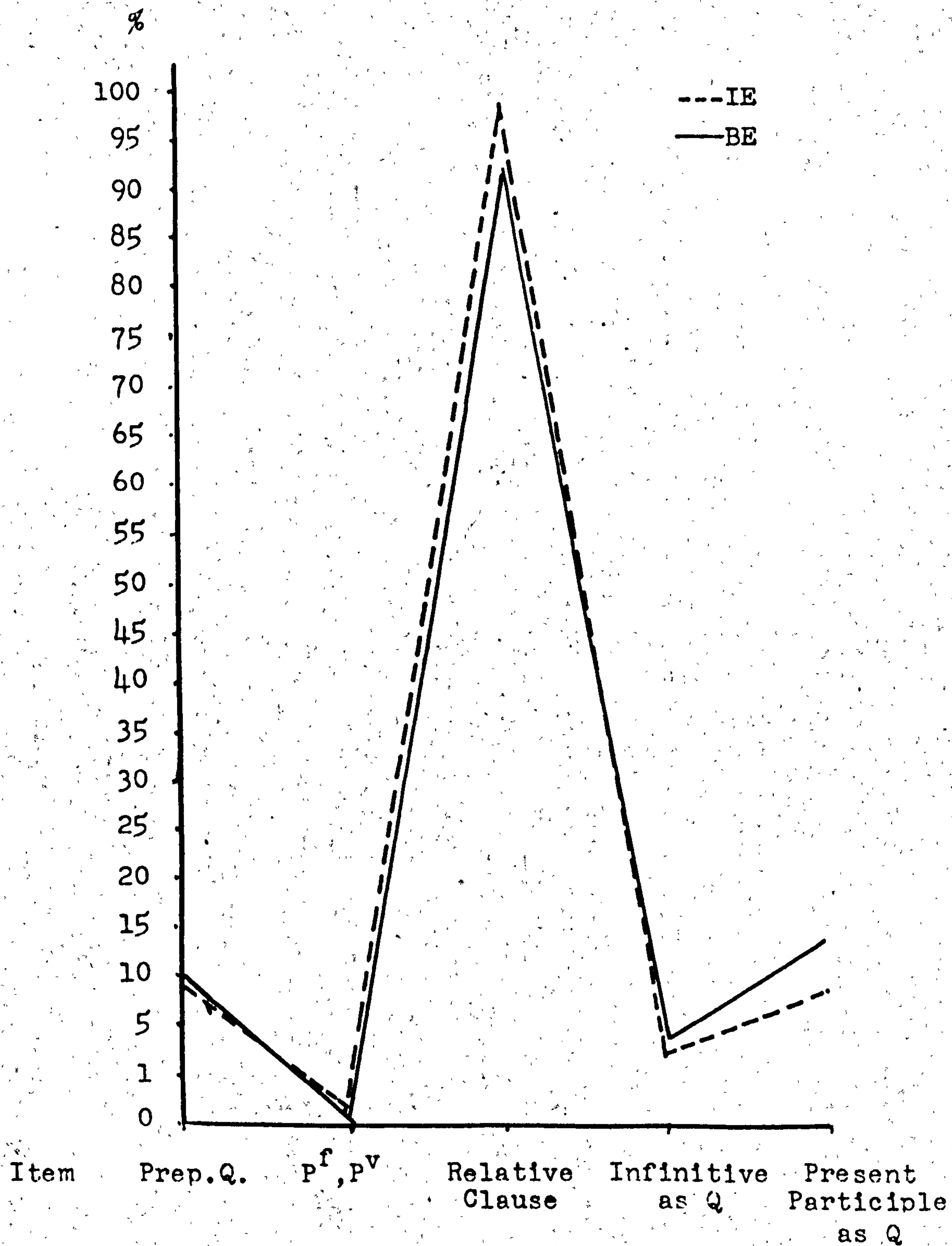
1. One preposition, e.g. Government of India.

<sup>1</sup>An adverbial phrase may also take the Q position, a month or so.  
<sup>2</sup>cf. Halliday, Categories.



# GRAPH SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF QUALIFIERS IN IE AND BE

(Reference: 10. 25.0.)



2. More than one preposition e.g.: The report has been utilized by the Ministry of Agriculture in the preparation of a comprehensive programme for research in agricultural economics.

The above r 2. 2 may be termed as "serial structure" since it has  $Q^1 Q^2 Q^3$  which are to be analysed at different "steps".

10. 25.2. The structure of NG + rNQ can be analysed graphically in the following boxes. Let us take one NG, e.g. the research project in agricultural economics, it has two "steps".

research		agricultural	
The	Projects	in	economics

The structure of the above NG is:

step 1. M H Q

step 2.  $M^1 M^2 H Q (r m H)$

The structure of "serial" prepositional Qs may be as:

MHQ (MH; MH  $Q^1 Q^2$ )

In a "serial construction" there are, at least, more than two

steps: step 1. M H Q

step 2. M H Q M H Q

step 3. M H Q M H ; mH  $Q^1 Q^2$

In the two texts, the total number of nominal Heads followed by PQ is: IE 402 and BE 531. That is 9.8 and 12.7 percent respectively.

The further distribution is given in the following Table:

Prepositions	IE		BE	
	Frequency	% <sup>1</sup>	Frequency	%
NG + one preposition	327	81.34	432	81.46
NG + "serial construction"	75	18.6	99	18.5

<sup>1</sup>The percentages have been taken out of the total prepositional qualifiers, that is 402 in IE and 531 in BE.



10. 25.3. p<sup>f</sup> and p<sup>v</sup> as Q: The pronoun in English can have two to six forms each, which have been classified as p, p<sup>1</sup>, p<sup>2</sup>, p<sup>21</sup>, p<sup>f</sup>, p<sup>v</sup> by Catford. p<sup>f</sup>, p<sup>v</sup> included the following items:

p<sup>f</sup>: myself, ourself, yourself, himself, herself, itself, oneself.

p<sup>v</sup>: ourselves, yourselves, themselves.

These forms may function as Q of a head.

10. 25.3<sup>1</sup> P as Q has a very restricted frequency in the two texts. In IE there are the following five examples; Delhi itself, we ourselves, N himself, he himself, the fish itself. In BE we have the same number of examples, e.g. the taxpayers themselves; the scheme itself, the boat itself, the industry itself, the fishermen themselves.

10. 25.3<sup>2</sup> Pronoun in p<sup>f</sup> or p<sup>v</sup> form may be interpreted in two ways:

- (a) as Q to the preceding nominal;
- (b) as adjunct in clause structure.

There are no formal restrictions, for instance, (1) we ourselves did it, (2) we did it ourselves, (3) ourselves we did it. In (2) and (3) p is functioning as an adjunct. We could perhaps treat this class as floating adjuncts, which can function both, as Q and A, in clause structures.

10. 25.4. Relative clauses as Q: A relative clause may function as a qualifier of a head, e.g. the boy who has passed the examination. In a construction when we have subordination - as opposed to co-ordination - we have, usually, a relative clause. In certain cases, a relative clause may be changed by use of a pronoun, for instance,

I met a friend at the 'Varsity whose brother is a writer,

(or I met a friend at the 'Varsity, his brother is a writer).

10. 25.4<sup>1</sup> We have abstracted only the following W-words which function as Q to H; they include clauses introduced by relative 'that'.

(W) Words	IE		BE	
	Frequency	% <sup>1</sup>	Frequency	%
<u>that</u>	47	33.1	57	27.0
<u>which</u>	57	40.1	131	62.1
<u>who</u>	35	24.6	23	10.9
<u>whose</u>	2=	1.4	-	-
<u>whom</u>	1	0.8	-	-

10. 26.0. Co-ordinate constructions: A co-ordinate construction (Abb. CC) has two or more nominals and syntactically they function as heads. On the basis of substitutability, a CC may be replaced by N or a pronoun. For instance, the CC, (as recommended by) Prof. John D. Black and J. D. Steward (in their report) may be substituted by one N or by the pronoun them.

10. 26.1. There is a great variety in the structures of CC. The main structures may be analysed as:

1. or type,
2. and type,
3. as well as type,
4. neither/nor type.

<sup>1</sup>The percentages have been worked out out of the total number of relative clauses, that is, 142 in IE and 211 in BE.



10. 26.2. TABLE SHOWING FREQUENCY OF STRUCTURES OF CC

Types (and the sub-class)	IE		BE	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<u>or type</u>	23	24.46	13	15.47
1. N or N	15	65.1	12	92.4
2. N or (r) N	-	00.00	1	3.8
3. N N or N	2	8.7	-	00.00
4. (r) N or N	4	17.4	-	00.00
5. N or N or N or N	-	00.00	1	3.8
6. (r) N or (r) N (or) r N	1	4.4	-	00.00
7. N or N and N	1	4.4	-	00.00
8. N <u>as well as</u> N type	4	4.26	-	00.00
9. neither/nor type	1	1.07	-	00.00
<u>either or type</u>	1	1.07	3	3.58
10. either N or N	-	00.00	1	33.3
11. either NN or N	-	00.00	1	33.3
12. either N or N or N	1	100.0	-	00.0
13. either by N or by N	-	00.0	1	33.0
<u>and type</u>	65	69.14	68	80.95
14. N and N	47	72.5	51	11.81
15. N N	1	1.5	-	00.00
16. N N and N	13	20.0	8	11.5
17. N N N and N	-	00.0	2	3.0
18. N and N and N	2	3.1	2	3.0
19. (r) N and (r) N	1	1.5	-	00.00
20. (r) N (r) N and (r) N	-	00.00	2	3.0
21. (r) N and N and (r) N	-	00.00	1	1.5
22. (r) N and (r) N (r) NN N	1	1.5	-	00.00
23. (r) N N N and N	-	00.0	1	1.5
24. by N and by N	-	00.0	1	00.0

Illustrations of the types and sub-classes as given in the preceding table.

1. the gain or loss.
2. Punjab or from Kashmir.
3. Argentina, Russia or China.
4. from India or Nepal.
5. Aberdeen or Edinburgh or Dundee or Perth.
6. from Delhi or from Ambala or from Ludhiana.
7. Ice plants, or refrigeration plants and transport facilities.
8. the exporting countries as well as the Western European countries.
9. neither Britain nor India.
10. either Grimsby or Moray Firth.
11. either Argentina, Russia or China.
12. either the state government, or the central government or the Planning Commission.
13. either by Marine biology scholars or by other scientists.
14. the corporation and the board.
15. India, Pakistan.
16. the new standards, definitions and concepts.
17. freezing, kippering, oil and meal.
18. a complete hydrographic and hydrological study and hydro-biological study.
19. in Travancore-cochin and in the coast of Madras.
20. for fish oil, for fish manures and for other subsidiary industries.
21. in Kerala, Mangalore and in Madras.
22. in Britain and in America, in Japan, Norway and Denmark.
23. India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma.
24. by Brahmins and by non-Brahmins.



10. 26.3. The main differences in CCs in the two texts are:

1. IE has more forms of or type constructions, the excess being 8.99 percent;
2. BE has more forms of and type and either or type constructions, the excess being 75.0% and 2.51% respectively.

The following Table gives those constructions which are absent in IE or BE.

IE	BE
<u>or type</u> : N or (r) N	<u>or type</u> : N N or N
N or N or N or N	(r) N or N
<u>and type</u> : N N N and N	(r) N or (r) N ( or) N
(r) N (r) N and (r) N	N or N and N
(r) N and N and (r) N	<u>and type</u> : N N
(r) N N N and N	(r) N and (r) N
by N and by N	(r) N and (r) N (r)NN N
<u>either or type</u> : either N or N	<u>as well as type</u> : as well as N
either N N or N	<u>neither nor</u> : neither N nor N
either by N or by N	<u>either or type</u> : either N or N or N

10. 27.0. NGs in apposition: In certain constructions, for a single nominal we can substitute two or more nominals in an NG, one of which may be in apposition. In the structure both have the same function. For instance, Pt. Nehru is arriving tomorrow may be changed into appositional construction, Pt. Nehru, the popular Indian leader, is arriving tomorrow. In the second sentence the popular Indian leader would be an appositive. In such examples,

the appositive items may have a qualifier which would refer to both formal items, for instance, we the members of Parliament, in this example of parliament ( N) refers to both, we and the members,

10. 27.1. On the basis of the limited corpus it is difficult to say what criteria may <sup>be</sup> used for separating an appositive item.

An appositive item may be after a comma or in a rider; e.g. the people who have rendered some aid to us in this direction - the Norwegians. In certain cases abbreviations or initials are used, e.g. the industry - the B.T.F.

In IE there are 0.19 percent appositional constructions and in BE 0.07 percent. The IE text has 0.12 percent higher frequency.

10. 28.0. Summary of the Nominal Group: On a very limited corpus it is difficult to deduce any significant conclusions about the nominal group in IE and BE. This section has been attempted as a methodological preliminary in comparative description and the aim is not to attempt a detailed analysis of the grammatical deviations. The following summary, however, shows the main differences of the nominal group in two varieties.

The study does not show any marked differences in the main structures in two registers. The differences become marked only as we analyse the elements which function in the group.

1. In relation with total words, the NG shows a higher percentage of 1.49 in IE. On this evidence it is not possible to say that there is a tendency towards nominalization in IE, as perhaps, would be expected according to Wells.<sup>1</sup>
2. Pronouns are 0.61 percent higher in IE. The deviations in different forms of pronouns is given in the following Table:

<sup>1</sup> See Rulon Wells. "Nominal and Verbal Style" in Style and Language pp. 213 - 220.



Form	IE	BE
p	+ 1.17	
p <sup>1</sup>		+ 0.73
p <sup>2</sup>		+ 5.22
p <sup>21</sup>	+ 5.66	
p <sup>f</sup>	+ 0.07	
p <sup>v</sup>		+ 0.48

Unqualified Nouns: IE text shows a (significant) difference of 4.93 percent more unqualified NGs.

Modified Heads: In the two texts the grading of modifiers (cf.10.24.0) shows that the maximum number of items has been modified by one item. The frequency of modified heads reduces as the number of modifiers is increased. The modifiers are used on a "descending" scale up to the maximum of five. The differences are given in

Grading of Modifiers	IE	BE
Modified by one		+ 2.36
Modified by two		+ 0.09
Modified by three	+ 2.29	
Modified by four		+ 0.02
Modified by five	+ 0.04	(no occurrence)

TABLE SHOWING DEVIATION IN MODIFIERS

Modifier	IE	BE
(i) The articles		+ 14.33
(ii) Possessive noun		+ 0.05
(iii) Present participle		+ 0.42
(iv) $v^n$ form		+ 0.39

TABLE SHOWING DEVIATION IN QUALIFIERS

Qualifier	IE	BE
1. Preposition as Q		
(a) NG + one preposition		+ 0.12
(b) NG + serial construction	+ 0.1	
2. $p^f$ and $p^v$	+ 0.21	
3. Infinitive as Q in NG		+ 1.4
4. <u>ing</u> as Q in NG		+ 6.7

TABLE SHOWING DEVIATIONS IN RELATIVE CLAUSE AS (1)

Item	IE	BE
<u>that</u>	+ 6.1	
<u>which</u>		+ 22.0
<u>who</u>	+ 13.7	
<u>whose</u>	1.4	No occurrence
<u>whom</u>	0.8	No occurrence



The differences in the different structures of Co-ordinate  
Constructions are given in

TABLE SHOWING DEVIATIONS IN CO-ORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

Type	IE	BE
<u>or type</u>	+ 8.99	
<u>and type</u>		+ 11.81
<u>as well as type</u>	4.26	No occurrence
<u>neither/nor type</u>	1.07	No occurrence
<u>either/or type</u>		+ 3.58

The investigation of the nominal group would perhaps show interesting results if we could make a comparative analysis of different registers and the types and classes of nominal heads.

## 11. LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL TRANSFERENCE

11. 1.0. In this chapter<sup>1</sup> we are concerned with another language-contact situation which is perhaps typical of a bi-lingual language-community, namely "the interference" of L1 or L1s in L2 or L2s. By interference we mean that the formal items of one or more languages spoken/written by a bilingual (or multilingual) person are transferred to L2. The transference may be at any level or (interlevel) and at any rank.

11. 2.0. The process of transfer could also be named translation. In this chapter we are making a distinction between transference and translation.

11. 2.1. Transference is restricted to the use of an L1 lexical item in L2, without involving any phonological or formal change. This would include loan-words from one language to another. In the specific case of IE, it would mean transferring lexical items of Indian languages into IE.

11. 2.2. Translation is establishing equivalent or partially equivalent formal items of L2 for the formal items of L1. There is not necessarily a one to one correspondence of the formal items of the source-language (Abb. SL) and the target-language (Abb. TL)<sup>2</sup>. An item at the word rank in one language may be transferred at the group rank into the other language. For instance, a bahuvrihi type

<sup>1</sup>In the chapter on caste and religion in IE (cf. chapter 15) and speech-functions in IE (cf. chapter 14) we have attempted to relate certain formal exponents - mostly at the lexical level, which includes collocations - with the CSs of C2 (if the reader is an English L1, C1 speaker). Our attempt there is to show the ethnographic evidence as reflected in the L2 about the C1.

<sup>2</sup>In a bilingual situation the SL would be L1 and the TL, L2. Our reference to L1 grammatical 'units' does not presuppose that we have analysed the L1s under discussion.



compound from Hindustani, namakharam is translated as spoiler of salt, and not as salt spoiler, and by the same writer another compound is translated at the same rank in IE, ishwar-prem as god-love.

11. 2.3. Translation may be of two types, i.e. "rank-bound" and "rank changed".

1. Rank bound translation<sup>1</sup> is when an L2 writer translates formal items of L1 to L2 at the 'same' rank, (if we presuppose the number of units in the languages under discussion is the same).<sup>2</sup>

1. The following formal items have the same ranks in the two languages, i.e. word (compound)

L2 formal item	L1 formal item
<u>car-festival</u>	<u>rath-yatra</u>
<u>caste-mark</u>	<u>jāti cinh</u>
<u>caste-dinner</u>	<u>jati bhoj</u>
<u>cow-worship</u>	<u>gōpūja</u>
<u>family-protector</u>	<u>greh-dēvta</u>
<u>flower-bed</u>	<u>phulshajjā</u>
<u>God-love!</u>	<u>ishwar prēm</u>
<u>jewel-wombed</u>	<u>rātnagarbha</u>
<u>jewel-faced</u>	<u>sōna mukhi</u>
<u>nose-screw</u>	<u>nāk besar</u>
<u>waste-thread</u>	<u>kati dōra</u>

<sup>1</sup>If translated by one who is at the lower end on the cline of bilingualism the results may be both amusing and misleading. Such examples are not lacking in IE.

<sup>2</sup>The term rank-changed is not the same as Halliday's rank-shift.

2. NG in L1, NG in L2.<sup>1</sup>

L2 formal item

horse's eggking of pearls

L1 formal item

ghorārdimmotiyāmdā bādshah

2. Rank changed translation is when an L2 writer translates an L1 formal item at a different (higher or lower) rank in L2. A few illustrations from IE are given below.<sup>2</sup>

ankle-bell (W, compound)<sup>3</sup>paval (W)brother-annointing ceremony (NG) bhaiyā-dūj (W, compound)caste-feast (W, compound)bhoj (W)cleansing bath (NG)shuddi (W)cow dust hour (NG)godhūli (W, compound)cow dung cakes (NG)gōyathā (W, compound)cousin-sister (W, compound)cacerī bahan (NG)cousin-brother (W, compound)cacerā bhāi (NG)confusion of castes (NG)varna saṅkara (W, compound)dining-leaf (W, compound)pattal (W)dung-washed<sup>4</sup> (W, compound)lepan (W)

<sup>1</sup>Other examples of the formal items of higher ranks may be given from speech-functions or phatic communion, e.g.,

(a) may the fire of your ovens consume you! (C) batṭhī mē jā.

(b) Where does your wealth reside? (TP) āpkā daulat khāna kahā hai?

(c) What honourable noun does your honour bear? (TP) āpkā shub nām kyā hai?

(d) beat me on my head till I go bald. Kur kur ke mainum ganjā karde.

These are good illustrations of what is called Oriental Ornamental "style". The above (b) and (c) mean: Where do you live? and What is your name?

The examples quoted in this section do not exhaust all such formal items which we found in the corpus. Only a few illustrations are given here to draw attention to this aspect of language-contact situation.

<sup>2</sup>The formal items which are simple words in L1 and have been translated as compound words are not rank changed in the strict sense. It is the difference of elements in translation.

<sup>3</sup>also anklet-bell.

<sup>4</sup>also dung-wash.



eating-leaf (W, compound)  
fear of pollution (NG)  
funeral-meal (W, compound)  
forehead-marking (W, compound)  
hair cutting ceremony (NG)  
Holy-thread (W, compound)  
initiation ceremony (NG)  
leaf-pot (W, compound)  
leaf-plate (W, compound)  
leaf-bag (W, compound)  
marriage-mark (W, compound)  
nine-stranded thread (NG)  
obsequial dinner (NG)  
niece-cloth (W, compound)  
rice-cake (W, compound)  
rice eating ceremony (NG)  
sacred-paste (NG)  
schooling ceremony (NG)  
sitting-planks (W, compound)  
tuft-knots (W, compound)  
twice-born (W, compound)  
you of the evil star (NG)  
spoiler of my salt (NG)

pattal (W)  
chūt (W)  
shrāddher nem<sup>an</sup>/tanā (NG)  
tilak (W)  
mundan-sanskār (W, compound)  
janēu (W)  
vajñopavit (W, compound)  
dōnā (W)  
dōnā (W)  
pattal/dōnā (W)  
sindūr (W)  
vajñopavit (W, compound)  
shrāddh bhojan (W, compound)  
lanjigōt (W)  
idli (W)  
annaprāshan (W, compound)  
chandan (W)  
vidyā-rambha (W, compound)  
nīrhā (W)  
chōtī (W)  
dvij (W)  
bad-baxt (W, compound)  
namak harām (W, compound)

11. 3.0. A rank bound translation may be 'parallel' in terms of units of L1 and L2, but it may differ in terms of the elements which operate in the structure of the unit, for instance, flower-bed is rank bound translation in the sense that there is equivalence of lexical items and structure in L1 and L2, i.e. phūl (flower)

shajia (bed), and the items belong to the 'same' word classes in the two languages. In translation this, however, causes contextual ambiguity in English because flower-bed in English is restricted to the register of gardening. The IE writer has, perhaps, used the highest probability lexical item from English for phul. If he would choose nuptial for flower, the contextual ambiguity for an English L1 C1 speaker would be resolved.<sup>1</sup>

11. 3.1. Those formal items which have L2 phonology and grammar, but involve transference of contextual meaning and collocation from L1 and C1, may be termed calques, for example the items like flower-bed.

11. 4.0. The other situation in L1 to L2 translation is of elaborated adaptation; this is when a contextually determined formal item from L1 is made basis for an elaborated adaptation in L2. This may not necessarily involve rank change, for instance, may the vessel of your life never float on the sea of existence. (C)  
The basic L1 item is tera berā gark ho.

The rank-bound and 'lexis-bound' translation of this item would be the following:

tera	berā	gark	ho
your	ship	sink	may

The translator (M. R. Anand) has, perhaps, given the translation an oriental 'flavour' by elaborating the translation.

11. 5.0. In the process of translation there is a kind of constant up and down 'shunting' on the rank scale (if we keep the rank scale of English in view). The probabilities of equivalence of L1 formal items with L2 can only be found by statistical methods.

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps this item would be ambiguous for some non-Bengali IE speakers/writers too.



11. 5.1. In transference an L2 writer is not necessarily thinking in terms of the relevance of parallel 'units' or semi-equivalent 'units' in L2. His main concern may be:

- (i) to use certain lexical items - operating in a larger 'unit' - with extended meanings; and/or
- (ii) to observe whether the transferred item can function successfully in the CS in which the formal items of L1 are functioning.

In the case of (ii) then the CS will be the determining factor in transfer.

11. 6.0. In a literary work in L2 translation can be of two types (i) unconscious and (ii) conscious. If it is unconscious translation the bi-lingual does not realise that he is operating an item of L1 in the structure of L2. (This would perhaps apply at the lower end of the Cline of bi-lingualism). This may also apply to certain transferred items of a language which have been completely assimilated into the borrowing language. For instance, a marriage of convenience, or, it goes without saying, or, I've told him I don't know how many times, which are, as Bloomfield says, "word-for-word imitations" of French phrases<sup>1</sup> and have been completely adapted as transferred items in English.

In 'conscious' translation the items may be translated with a purpose to establish one to one correspondence (or partial correspondence) for any of the following reasons:

- (i) the writer's attempt to make the dialogue 'realistic';
- (ii) the necessity for formal items in corresponding CSs;
- (iii) the adaption of speech-functions like, greetings, blessings, modes of address, etc. which are typical repetitive speech events in Indian society.

<sup>1</sup>see Language, p.457

In certain cases we can say that it is 'conscious' translation when a writer 'purposely' transfers items from L1 and accepts it as one of linguistic techniques for 'style'. For instance, we have evidence of it in Anand<sup>1</sup> when he writes: "... for now I literally translate all the dialogues in my novels from my mother tongue and think out the narrative mostly the same way."

11. 6.0. In some cases the translation is determined by the Indian CSs and a writer, perhaps, consciously translates from L1. We took 91 formal items from IE and classified them in the following Table to see the frequencies of such items in different contexts. This could be more interesting if more corpus would be added.

11. 6.1. TABLE SHOWING THE CONTEXTUAL CLASSIFICATION

Context	%
abuses - curses	19.7
blessings	3.3
ceremonies - rituals	13.2
caste	13.2
dress	2.2
evaluation	3.3
edibles	1.1
flattery - phatic communion	12.1
furniture	1.1
festivals	1.1
greetings	1.1
jewellery	3.3
kinship	1.1
modes of address	3.3
marriage	5.5
objects related with foot	6.6
religion	7.7
time	1.1

<sup>1</sup>Anand, M. R.; The King-Emperor's English or the Role of the Role of the English Language in the Free India. Bombay, 1958. p.23.



## 12. 1.0.

In the next chapter (cf. chapter 13) we have attempted to investigate how the sub-stratum and the Indian contexts have influenced the formation of the components in IE. These are mainly (i) collocational, (ii) contextual and (iii) grammatical deviations from BE. The components of the items, which may be of various ranks are, however, taken from the English language.

## 12. 1.1.

In this section we are making a distinction between two types of items:

- (i) those items which are from Indian sources;
- (ii) those items which are from non-Indian sources.

An Indian source item is one:

- (i) which has been borrowed from an Indian language in IE, or BE; and
- (ii) which is a formal exponent of some contextual "item" in Indian society.

A non-Indian source item is one:

- (i) which belongs to the lexicon of the English language, or
- (ii) which has come through the English sources to India.

## 12. 2.0.

The formations with components from the above two sources are the results of the process of hybridization, and

have been termed "hybrid" or "mixed"<sup>1</sup> formations. It is crucial that we should be able to give formal and/or contextual statements for such items<sup>2</sup> from the Indian linguistic and/or cultural context.

12. 2.1.

A "hybrid" or a "mixed" form, then, is a linguistic item comprising elements from two or more languages.<sup>3</sup> The elements can be:

- (i) open-set, e.g. lathi-charge, or
- (ii) closed-system, e.g. police-walla.

In (ii) IE suffix walla is a closed-system item, and can be preceded by a restricted open-set item.

<sup>1</sup>Haugen, E. The Norwegian Language in America, Part I, p.10.. Pennsylvania, 1953.

<sup>2</sup>At the outset we have to decide whether we should treat the following types of items as Indian-source items:

- (i) those items which have been "completely" assimilated in the English language; and
- (ii) those items which are no more restricted to Indian contexts only.

In certain cases the orthographic exponents also show that the items have been adopted in the phonological system of English and are spelt according to English pronunciation, e.g. chutney, pyjama, jaggernaut, nautch, etc.

The items vary in the degrees of "assimilation" and frequency in BE. In this investigation we found some formations in IE, which are very frequent in BE too; and in BE they may also be used in unIndian contexts. This group includes bazaar, coolie, chutney, chit, curry, hookah, paria, pyjama, saffron, topee, toddy.

The other group is not so frequent in BE, and the items are used only in Indian contexts in BE press or literature, for example ahimsa, ashram, khaddar, lathi, panchayat, sari, etc. We have, however, included both these groups in this study on the basis that etymologically and historically English lexicons like OED etc. trace their histories back to Indian languages. In this study the items belonging to the group one are not more than twenty. In excluding the items of group two it would be rather difficult to draw the line.

<sup>3</sup>We have, however, restricted it to components in which one element is necessarily from the English language.



In this chapter we have used certain terms, namely, (Hybrid) collocation, (Hybrid) lexical set, (Hybrid) ordered series of words, (Hybrid) reduplication. In the following section an attempt has been made to explain their specific uses.

12. 2.2. Hybrid collocation - in contrast to a collocation (cf. chapter 5) - is a type of collocation with these additional characteristics:

- (i) it comprises elements from two or more different languages;
- (ii) it is formally and contextually restricted;
- (iii) it operates in only one RL in IE - though the Indian element may have a wider range of functions in the Indian source language.

12. 2.3. Hybrid lexical sets. Since the "hybrid collocations" are restricted in terms of the RLs and Register in IE, while in Ll lexically their distribution has no specific contextual restrictions, we could call these "hybrid lexical sets" (abb. LS). In such sets, a lexical item, from an Indian language, is collocationally and contextually restricted. For instance, in our data purdah in IE precedes only - woman, system, -lady. It is an exponent of a social context, in relation to a specific religious group(s) of India. Sarvodaya is contextually restricted to one context, that is, politics. In Hindi Sarvodaya has no such register restrictions.

A lexical set is a set - with possibilities of inclusion of new elements - which has contextual restrictions and operates in limited contexts.

12. 2.4. (Hybrid) ordered series of words:<sup>1</sup> An (H) LS is abstracted on the basis of the function of items in particular restricted languages or Registers. We can make quantitative statements about their lexical environment and possibilities of occurrence in RLs. (cf. chapter 15). The members of a (Hybrid) ordered series of words (abb. OSW) are not, necessarily, contextually restricted. An OSW has the following characteristics:

- (i) contextually the members of an OSW may belong to one or more RLs;
- (ii) formally, all the members of an OSW have one element in common, and a common structure.

12. 2.5. The member of an OSW may or may not form a lexical set, since they can operate in different contexts; only on the basis of their structure we may abstract them from the corpus; for instance;

Angrezi chair, Angrezi furniture, Angrezi proverb, Angrezi race, Angrezi sweet, Angrezi teapot, Angrezi woman. Or another illustration of an OSW is the names of the days in Hindi, e.g.

<sup>1</sup>Firth uses this term in a wider sense. See his Papers p.228, "Ordered Series of Words (OSW) include, for example, paradigms, formal scatter, so-called synonyms, and antonyms, lexical groups by association, words grouped by common application in certain recurrent contexts of situation, and groups by phonaesthetic association." We have, however, used the term in a different sense since a distinction on the formal and the contextual grounds has been made; for us, "words grouped by common application in certain recurrent contexts of situation" are lexical sets.



Ravivar, Somvar, Mangalvar, Budhvar, Brashaspatvar, Shukrvar, Sanivar. But the names of months in Hindi and English form a LS. It may so happen, that the members of an OSW are also members of an LS - just as the analogous categories in grammar ("class", analogous to LS, "paradigm", analogous to OSW) - since these two are not mutually exclusive.<sup>1</sup>

This feature of hybridization, perhaps, is natural in a situation of borrowing; but the point here is, it is determined by the Indian setting in which the L2 operates. We could perhaps say that these hybrid formations are exponents of contexts, some of which may be exotic for the English language as used in Britain. These formations are, however, essential for understanding IE in an Indian situation.

12. 2.6. In a bi-lingual situation sometimes two or more components, from two or more languages, having an identical lexical meaning, are formed in a compound. Such formations have been termed hybrid reduplication. For instance, lathi-stick (Kanth, 210). In this formation the items stick and lathi have "the same" meaning in their respective languages. The other formations are cotton kapas (Mail 1.1.59), bazaar street (B of A, 115), curved-kukri (SIF 61)

12. 3.0. In an area where many languages/dialects are spoken in a varied socio-cultural and material matrix, a hybrid form may gain currency in a restricted speech-community, and then

<sup>1</sup>cf. Halliday "Categories".

cut across the linguistic isoglosses into another linguistic area. Some such forms in IE can be put into clear geographical isoglosses, as they have a special connotation in a particular speech-community living in a linguistic area.

They are contextually determined since they refer to material objects, customs, fauna-flora, or religious practices, which are part of the culture of a specific area or group, and they gain currency by use in fiction, IE newspapers, or in debates in Parliament or State Assemblies. This then, is an extension of a lexical item from one speech-area to another.

A few formations will perhaps illustrate this point.

Coconut paysam, kuruvai harvest, kuravai straw, potato bonda, jibba pocket, jutka driver, are restricted to contexts in the South of India, and yakka carriage, yakka driver, to the North of India. Perhaps a yakka carriage and a jutka are not much different as both refer to a certain type of carriage. Religious diwan is limited to the Sikh community in the Punjab. Dadan money has been found in the RL of agriculture as used around West Bengal. This situation, taking the other dimension, e.g. social/caste/religion, has been treated elsewhere. (cf. chapter 15.)

#### 12. 4.0.

In classifying hybridization in IE, a two-way classification has been adopted, (i) formal and (ii) contextual.

#### 12. 4.1.

In formal classification we have discussed the



hybrid-formations according to the units and the elements which operate in their structure.

#### 12. 4.2.

There is a large number of groups of the class "nominal", with two or more elements in the structure.

#### 12. 4.3.

The first group includes those formations in which there are two elements, and the relationship is of a modifier and a head. The first component - that is, the modifier - is from English and the head is from an Indian language, e.g.

British sarkar (BH 192).

#### 12. 4.4.

The second group also belongs to the class "nominal", but the order of elements in the group is reversed. In this case an Indian lexical item functions as a modifier, and an English lexical item as the head, e.g. ayurveda-system (MM 99).

#### 12. 4.5.

In the first group the formations of MH relationship have been further sub-grouped according to the position of the components:

- |   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (i) <u>MH type</u>                                  | e.g. <u>canal-bund</u> (S & R 281)   |
| (ii) <u>-Ing + H</u>                                | e.g. <u>burning-ghat</u> (c 147)     |
| (iii) <u>V<sup>d</sup> or V<sup>n</sup> &amp; H</u> | e.g. <u>curved kukri</u> (SIF 61)    |
| (iv) <u>"string" M H<sup>1</sup></u>                | e.g. <u>homespun khaddar</u> (BH 48) |

<sup>1</sup>It is "string" in the sense that the M itself is made of two components which modify the H.

12. 4.6.

The MH type formations have been further sub-grouped according to word classes which occupy the modifying position.

(1) NN type: In which the first element belongs to the class noun;

(11) AN type: In which the first element belongs to the class adjective.

12. 5.0.

NN type: In the following formations both the components are from the class noun.

canal-bund<sup>1</sup> Christian Sadhu<sup>2</sup> City-kotwali<sup>3</sup> coconut paysam<sup>4</sup>  
Congress pandal<sup>5</sup> - raj<sup>6</sup> College babu<sup>7</sup> Copper-pie<sup>8</sup> Cotton  
satranji<sup>9</sup> - sari<sup>10</sup> - kapas<sup>11</sup> - pyjama<sup>12</sup> cotton sadri<sup>13</sup>  
doctor sahib<sup>14</sup> evening-puja<sup>15</sup> - bhajan<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup>canal-bund: Hind. ; and she's washed away canal-bund and all, (S & R 281)

<sup>2</sup>Christian Sadhu: Hind. fr. Skt.; But, Charlie, the Christian Sadhu from St. Andrews.. (F of F 257)

<sup>3</sup>City-kotwali: Hind. fr. Persian; the authorities also set up ... in the city-kotwali.. (HIS 261)

<sup>4</sup>Coconut paysam: Dravidian langs. fr. Skt.; When I bring you your appointment order you must feed me with coconut paysam (ADS)

<sup>5</sup>Congress pandal: Hind. fr. Tamil; now seated in the lotus seat on the congress pandal. (Un. 212)

<sup>6</sup>Congress raj: Hind. fr. Skt.; And hurra for the congress raj! (S & R 31)

<sup>7</sup>College babu: Hind.; What sort of a college babu are you. (F of F 33)

<sup>8</sup>Copper-pie: Hind. fr. Marathi; ...pinching himself to save each copper pie. (SMH 91)

<sup>9</sup>Cotton satranji: Beng. fr. Persian; The ground.... was covered with thick cotton satranji. (He Who 222)

<sup>10</sup>Cotton sari: Hind.; her cotton sari still....stiff with starch (RH 153)

<sup>11</sup>Cotton kapas: Hind. fr. karbas; Arrivals of cotton kapas diminished in villupuram. (The Mail 1.1.59.)



12 Cotton pyjamas: Hind. pājāma fr. pā'e 'leg' jāma 'garment';  
...against his legs in their thinwhite cotton pyjamas (H of  
A 139)

13 Cotton sadri: Hind.; his cotton sadri and muslin dhoti  
sticking to his reedy black legs. (BH 147)

14 Doctor sahib: Urdu fr. Arabic sahib; The doctor sahib is  
right. (DD 247). Used as an honorific suffix. "The title  
by which, all over India, European gentlemen, and it may be  
said Europeans generally, are addressed, and spoken of, when no  
disrespect is intended by natives. It is also the general  
title (at least where Hindustani or Persian is used) which is  
affixed to the name or office of a European, corresponding thus  
rather to Monsieur than to Mr." (HJ 590)

15 Evening puja: Hind. fr. Skt.; An anxious mother came to me  
yesterday, before the evening puja. (He Who 170)

16 Evening bhajan: Hind. fr. Skt.; And today everyone will  
fast, and the Congress Panchayat will meet the evening bhajan.  
(Kanth 186)

flower bazaar<sup>17</sup> fish bazaar<sup>18</sup> gang coolie<sup>19</sup> glass choorie<sup>20</sup>  
gold mohar<sup>21</sup> gram khir<sup>22</sup> - curry<sup>23</sup> Inspector sahib<sup>24</sup>  
marriage pandal<sup>25</sup> mango chutney<sup>26</sup> mem-sahib<sup>27</sup> miss-sahib<sup>28</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Flower bazaar: Hind. fr. Persian; ...a raid conducted by Inspector Dhauraj of the flower bazaar. (MII 59). "In South India and Ceylon the word is used for a single shop or stall kept by a native." (HJ 56) Generally it is used in the sense of an ordinary market.

<sup>18</sup>Fish bazaar: Hind. fr. Persian; Kanth 135.

<sup>19</sup>Gang coolie: The origin of coolie - spelt also as cooly - is doubtful. In HJ (192) Yule and Burnell attribute it to the name of Koli, a race or caste in Western India who are essentially labourers. According to Dr. H.V. Carter, the Kolis proper are a true hill-people, whose especial locality lies in the Western Ghats and in the northern extension. Wilson - in his Glossary - regards the origin from a Tamil word kuli, signifying 'hire' or 'wages'. In English slang or thieves jargon it is used as a private soldier or a soldier or a common fellow of the lowest class. The compound coolie Christmas is used in Natal for the Moharram as observed by the Indian immigrants. See A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (E. Partridge) and The Slang Dictionary by Hotten, J.C.; He was a gang coolie - often employed in road mending. (AD 181)

<sup>20</sup>Glass choorie: Hind. fr. cudi; ... the glass choorie, red and gleaming on her slender wrist. (He Who 211)

<sup>21</sup>Gold mohar: Hind.; In the compound at the chib there was a gold mohar tree. (1001 Nights); Caesalpinia pulcherrima.

<sup>22</sup>Gram khir: Hind. fr. Skt.; The the real obsequial dinner begins... Bhatta's beloved Bengal-gram khir. (Kanth 43)

<sup>23</sup>Gram curry: Tamil; (BH 38).

<sup>24</sup>Inspector sahib: I will also tell the Inspector sahib that you are a budmash. (TP 22)

<sup>25</sup>Marriage-pandal: Tamil pendal; When all was ready we spread the leaves under the gaudy marriage pandal... (N. in S. 34)

<sup>26</sup>Mango chutney: Hind.; (RH 157)

<sup>27</sup>Mem-sahib: I am an honest mem-sahib. (DD 231) HJ has the following note:

"Mem-sahib. This singular example of a hybrid term is the usual respectful designation of a European married lady in the Bengal Presidency: the first portion representing ma'am, Madam Sahib is used at Bombay." p.433.

<sup>28</sup>Miss-sahib: Miss-sahib, you should keep to your side of the road. (VG 81)



onion-curry<sup>1</sup> - pecoras<sup>2</sup> police jamadar<sup>3</sup> - lathi<sup>4</sup> - thana<sup>5</sup>  
rail-gadi<sup>6</sup> ration ghat<sup>7</sup> Saturday haat<sup>8</sup> saffron-sari<sup>9</sup> sentry  
sahib<sup>10</sup> silk dhoti<sup>11</sup> solar topee<sup>12</sup> string charpoy<sup>13</sup>  
tamarind chutney<sup>14</sup> tank bund<sup>15</sup> vermicelli paysam<sup>16</sup> village  
panchayat<sup>17</sup> - baniya<sup>18</sup> wheat chupatti<sup>19</sup> worship sari<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Onion-curry: Tamil, Kari; And once in three days there is onion-curry. (S & R 244)

<sup>2</sup>Onion-pecoras: Hind.; (RH 171).

<sup>3</sup>Police jamadar: Urdu fr. Persian; ... than the sankur police jamadar is there. (Kanth. 29)

<sup>4</sup>Police lathi: Hind.; Say if you can face the police lathis... (Kanth 162).

<sup>5</sup>Police thana: Hind. fr. Persian; But other people of an out-lying village across the meadow burnt down a police thana. (SMH 85).

<sup>6</sup>Rail-gadi: Hind.; They brought the rail-gadi here. (BH 75)

<sup>7</sup>Ration ghat: Hind. fr. Skt.; They also plan to start a satyagraha for the removal of the ration ghat from the Bank premises of the said Bharo temple. (V. 18.5.60.)

<sup>8</sup>Saturday haat: Hind.; The peasants could not always buy or sell at the Saturday haat in the market village. (SMH 52.)

<sup>9</sup>Saffron-sari: How beautiful the Devi looked in her saffron-sari. (S & R 27).

<sup>10</sup>Sentry sahib: The sentry sahib wants to know... (TP 138).

<sup>11</sup>Silk dhoti: Hind.; ... dressed in a homespun .... silk dhoti. (C. 221).

<sup>12</sup>Solar topee: Hind. topi; ... a solar topee on his head. (Un. 57) also (VG 10).

<sup>13</sup>String charpoy: Hind. charpai, Persian chihar-pai; ... two long dormitories with double rows of string charpoys and one small cupboard at each end. (SIF 151) Spelt as - charpai in BH 31.

<sup>14</sup>Tamarind chutney: Hind.; She offers her .... tamarind chutney. (S & R 244).

<sup>15</sup>Tank bund: Hind. band; The watchman stood on the tank bund and took a final survey. (AD 61) "The root is both Sanskrit and Persian, but the common word used as it is without aspirate seems to have been taken from the latter." HJ 97.

<sup>16</sup>Vermicelli paysam: Dr. fr. Skt.; For midday meal he will have a vermicelli paysam. (Kanth 18).

<sup>17</sup>Village panchayat: Hind. fr. Persian; Heads of village panchayats from two villages. (HIT. 28.12.59).

<sup>18</sup>Village banya: Hind. originally probably fr. Gujarati; Ramcharan, the village banya. (1001 Nights).

<sup>19</sup>Wheat chupattie: Hind. chapāṭī; also spelt as chapattie; servants flitted about with fresh relays of thin wheat chupatties. (RH 19).

<sup>20</sup>(S & R 284).



12. 5. 1.

AN Type: The first component is an adjective and the second a noun. Auspicious brahmin<sup>1</sup> British sarkar<sup>2</sup> ceremonial pronom<sup>3</sup> counterfeit kismat<sup>4</sup> double roti<sup>5</sup> eternal upavasi<sup>6</sup> evil sarkar<sup>7</sup> false patel<sup>8</sup> great juggernaut<sup>9</sup> -guru<sup>10</sup> half-seer<sup>11</sup> holy mantra<sup>12</sup> imperial raj<sup>13</sup> landless kisan<sup>14</sup> low thathiar<sup>15</sup> mid-aswin<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Auspicious brahmin: Hind. fr. Skt.; Now, sir learned and auspicious Brahmin.

<sup>2</sup>British sarkar: Hin. fr. Persian; ... the terror practised by the British sarkar. (BH 192).

<sup>3</sup>Ceremonial pronom: Hindi/Beng. fr. Skt. pranama; ... stretching himself full-length in a ceremonial pronom. (He Who 195).

<sup>4</sup>Counterfeit kismat: Urdu fr. Persian; It is my counterfeit kismat. (BH 182).

<sup>5</sup>Double roti: Urdu; ... he was given a whole leg of chicken and double roti. (C. 261).

<sup>6</sup>Eternal upavasi: Hind. fr. Skt.; Tell the river, Duravasa, the eternal upavasi says. (S & R 386).

<sup>7</sup>Evil sarkar: Hind. fr. Persian; ... his own lack of argument, in defence of the evil sarkar. (BH 51).

<sup>8</sup>False patel: Marathi patil, Hind. patel; He had spat on the false patel. (Kanth 215).

<sup>9</sup>Great juggernaut: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... it was like trying to stop the onward rush of the great juggernaut. (N in S 179). From the Skt. Jagannaha, a name of the Hindi deity worshipped in Orissa. The idol of Lord Vishnu is annually taken in a procession during the Juggernaut Festival and many devotees sacrifice themselves. (See HJ 355).

<sup>10</sup>Great guru: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... or some great guru endowed with supernatural powers. (S of J 140)

<sup>11</sup>Half-seer: Hind. ser, fr. Skt. setak; ... selling a half-seer of grain to his peasant. (SMH 53)

<sup>12</sup>Holy mantra: Hind. fr. Skt.; Holy mantra was hymned by a priest. (MM 64).

<sup>13</sup>Imperial raj: Hind.; when the district officer of the Imperial raj and his missions visited the village. (M of A 141).

<sup>14</sup>Landless kisan: Urdu; Another quarter are landless kisans. (SMH 18).

<sup>15</sup>Low thathiar: Punjabi; ... if only you knew how I hate these low thathiars. (BH 39).

<sup>16</sup>Mid-aswin: Hind. fr. Skt. aswin; I was born in mid-aswin. (SMH 2).



obscene sarkar<sup>1</sup> old kothi<sup>2</sup> open buggy<sup>3</sup> religious diwan<sup>4</sup>  
thick chapati<sup>5</sup> ugly katra<sup>6</sup> untouchable paria<sup>7</sup> white-dhotied<sup>8</sup>  
wild kachu<sup>9</sup>

12. 5.2.

- Ing H Type: In the following the -ing form functions as a modifier, burning-ghaut<sup>10</sup> - ghee<sup>11</sup>

12. 5.3.

vd or vn Type: In the following the participant forms are functioning as modifiers e.g. curved kukri<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Obscene sarkar: Hind.; Away with this obscene sarkar.. (BH 142).

<sup>2</sup>Old kothi: Hind. kotha, Skt. kostaka; At the highest point stands the old kothi of Shivaji where he imprisoned his son. (BJ 7.6.59).

<sup>3</sup>Open buggy: I drove out about twenty-five miles in an open buggy to Daljit's village home. (S of J 37) The origin of birth of this item is doubtful. See HJ 94.

<sup>4</sup>Religious diwan: Punjabi; In the evening the S.G.P.C. organised a religious diwan. (T. 12.6.59).

<sup>5</sup>Thick chapati: ... On it were laid raw carrots, two thick chapatis. (S of J 187).

<sup>6</sup>Ugly katra: Beng.; The sprawling slums, some as old as three to four hundred years, the ugly kattras. (HS 15.6.59)

<sup>7</sup>Untouchable paria (2): Tamil, paraiyar; ... and put aside the idea of the holy Brahmin and the untouchable paria. (Kanth 178); it is also spelt pariah or parriar. Other compounds given in HJ p.514 are:

Pariah-dog: the common ownerless yellow dog; pariah-arrak: the poisonous native spirit; pariah-kite: the commonest Indian kite, Milvus Govinda.

<sup>8</sup>White-dhotied: White-dhotied and white-capped, he seemed the natural extension of the ..... (DD 35).

<sup>9</sup>Wild kachu: Hind./Beng. fr. Skt. kancu; ... the thick roots of wild kachu or some unfamiliar plant. (SMH 105)

<sup>10</sup>Burning-ghaut: Hind.; ... past mills, burning-ghauts, graveyards. (C. 147) also (BH 207). Also spelt as ghat.

<sup>11</sup>Burning ghee: Hind. ghi; Skt. ghrta; Pkt. ghia; (BA 66) ... and burning ghee assailed the nostrils of passers by in the street.

<sup>12</sup>Curved kukri: ... the short curved kukri he carried strapped to his side. (SIF)61).

12. 5.4.

String Formations: In a string formation, we have more than two elements in which one may be a compound, and modifies a head, which may be from an Indian language or

English. four-anna class<sup>1</sup> high-class Lallas<sup>2</sup> hillman coolie<sup>3</sup>  
homespun khaddar<sup>4</sup> pot-bellied bania<sup>5</sup> State-wide hartal<sup>6</sup>

12. 6.0.

The second group discussed below is also of unit "group" class "nominal", but the difference is that the position of M is reversed. In this case an English item functions as a head. This group has been further sub-divided into the following:

- |                          |                                     |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) <u>Derivative N:</u> | <u>babu-mentality</u> (IN 3.12.60.) |
| (ii) <u>Ing as Head:</u> | <u>kirtan singing</u> (F of F 221)  |
| (iii) <u>Agentive:</u>   | <u>charas smuggler</u> (IE 12.6.59) |
| (iv) <u>V as Head:</u>   | <u>khadi-bound</u> (Kanth, 41)      |
| (v) <u>N and N:</u>      | <u>aam sessions</u> (T 10.6.59)     |

<sup>1</sup>Four-anna class: Hind. fr. Skt. anaka; He sat in a far-off corner in the four-anna class. (AD 84)

<sup>2</sup>High-class Lallas: Hind. fr. Persian; But he vaguely knew that it was only in big cities that high-class Lallas and business men ate and drank together ... (BH 125)

<sup>3</sup>Hillman coolie: But before he had advanced a yard, the children of some of hillman coolie ... (BH 86)

<sup>4</sup>Homespun khaddar: Hind.; ... dressed in clothes of homespun khaddar. (BH 48)

<sup>5</sup>Pot-bellied bania: Hind. fr. Skt. wanik; ... a middle-aged, pot-bellied bania of the neighbouring village. (1001 Nights, 112)

<sup>6</sup>State-wide hartal: Hind. fr. Persian; The committee called for holding a 'state-wide hartal' on that day. (BJ 7.6.59)



12. 6.1.

Derivative N: anjali salutation<sup>1</sup> babu mentality<sup>2</sup>  
- English<sup>3</sup> bazaar musician<sup>4</sup> dhal mixture<sup>5</sup> haldi invitation<sup>6</sup>  
kashi-pilgrimage<sup>7</sup> vilayati mixture<sup>8</sup> yakka carriage<sup>9</sup>

12. 6.2.

- Ing as Head: beedi-smoking<sup>10</sup> durri weaving<sup>11</sup>  
goonda-looking<sup>12</sup> kirtan singing<sup>13</sup> pan-spitting<sup>14</sup> puja  
offering<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Anjali salutation: Hind. fr. Skt.; the anjali salutation to the midnight moon of the month of Ashrim... (F of F 84)

<sup>2</sup>Baboo mentality: Hind.; babu; The Prime Minister has warned students against developing a baboo mentality. (I. News 3.12.60.) Also spelt as babu: other compounds from it are Baboo English, Babu Sahib. "A term of respect attached to a name, like Master or Mr.. In Bengal and elsewhere, among Anglo-Indians, it is often used with a slight savour of disparagement." (HJ 32)

<sup>3</sup>Baboo English: Hind.; The tea-set was suburban, the English pabu-English. (S & R 33)

<sup>4</sup>Bazaar musician: Hind. fr. Persian; by a bazaar musician and his tart of a nautch-girl. (F of F 16)

<sup>5</sup>Dhal mixture: Hind.; The other filled a small cup, made from dried leaves held together with thorns, with the dhal mixture. (N in S 195)

<sup>6</sup>Haldi invitation: Hind.; ... and when they went for any kumkum and haldi invitation. (Kanth 152)

<sup>7</sup>Kashi-pilgrimage: Hind.; Nor like Bhatta did we go on kashi-pilgrimage. (Kanth 199)

<sup>8</sup>Vilayati mixture: Hind.; Our dharma says that this vilayati mixture of iron and leather is evil. (BH 102)

<sup>9</sup>Yakka-carriage: Hind.; running after tonga and yakka carriages: (BH 55)

<sup>10</sup>Beedi-smoking: Hind.; With turbaned, beedi-smoking station master. (S & R 198)

<sup>11</sup>Durri weaving: Hind.; ... tutorial classes are in operation in different trades and crafts, e.g. ... durri weaving. (SL 8,6.59)

<sup>12</sup>Goonda-looking: Hind.; Once he was almost sure that the hefty goonda-looking .... (1001 Nights 129)

<sup>13</sup>Kirtan singing: Hind. fr. Skt.; "What would happen", I asked myself, "if at the end of a kirtan singing on a moonlight night ...". (F of F 221)

<sup>14</sup>Pan-spitting: Hind.; Dignified in carriage, she was a contrast to the whip-bearing, pan-spitting father. (S & R 31)

<sup>15</sup>Puja offering: Beng./Hind. fr. Skt.; ... and various puja offerings were on sale. (He Who 127)



12: 6.3.

Agentive: ashram sweeper<sup>1</sup> ashram scavenger<sup>2</sup>  
beedi-seller<sup>3</sup> Brahma admirer<sup>4</sup> charas smuggler<sup>5</sup> harikatha-  
performer<sup>6</sup> jutka driver<sup>7</sup> palki-bearer<sup>8</sup> paria mixer<sup>9</sup>  
sanai player<sup>10</sup> sarangi player<sup>11</sup> sarvodaya leader<sup>12</sup> sherbet-  
dealer<sup>13</sup> tiffin carrier<sup>14</sup> tom-tom beater<sup>15</sup> tonga driver<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ashram sweeper: Hind. fr. Skt.; He felt that if he wanted the ashram sweeper to do his work well ... (Un)

<sup>2</sup>Ashram scavenger: In order to teach the ashram scavenger cleanliness ... (Un 217)

<sup>3</sup>Beedi-seller: Fruit sellers and beedi-sellers cried themselves hoarse. (AD 52). Also spelt as biri in some newspapers, e.g. "In this area no well organized college and small industry existed previously excepting handloom biri-making. (SL 8.6.59)

<sup>4</sup>Brahma admirer: his newly won Brahma admirers bought his railway ticket. (F of F 253)

<sup>5</sup>Charas smuggler: Hind.; The city magistrate yesterday sentenced Satjal, a notorious charas smuggler. (IE 12.6.59)

<sup>6</sup>Harikatha-performer: Hind.; ... the harikatha-performer relates it in extemporised verse. (Kanth 23)

<sup>7</sup>Jutka driver: Tamil jhtka; Outside a jutka driver greeted him. (BA 101)

<sup>8</sup>Palki-bearer: Hind.; Fast, fast, race the gale', chanted the palki-bearers. (MM 214)

<sup>9</sup>Paria mixer: I didn't tie my daughter to the neck of a paria mixer. (Kanth 63)

<sup>10</sup>Sanai player: Hind. fr. Persian; A solitary sanai player made music with his pipes. (He Who 159)

<sup>11</sup>Sarangi player: Hind. fr. Persian; The musicians were entering the room: a sarangi player... (S of J 106)

<sup>12</sup>Sarvodaya leader: Hind. fr. Skt.; The sarvodaya leader said that the... (AT 9.6.59)

<sup>13</sup>Sherbet dealer: Hind. fr. Arabic; Bali, the sherbet dealer and grocer, grouped up and held Gauri while Ananta tore Ratis away. (BH 34)

<sup>14</sup>Tiffin carrier: Lady Lal picked up her brass tiffin carrier and ambled along behind him. (VG 19) also (DD 78) HJ (p.700) has the following note: "Luncheon, Anglo-Indian and Hindustani, at least in English households. Also to tiff, V. to take luncheon. Some have derived this familiar word from Ar. tafannun 'diversion, amusement,' but without history, or evidence of such an application of the Arabic word. Others have derived it from Chinese ch'ih-fan, 'eat rice', which is only an additional example that anything whatever may be plausibly resolved into Chinese monosyllables. We believe the word to be a local survival of an English colloquial or slang term.

<sup>15</sup>Tom-tom beater: Hind.; He called Rama, the tom-tom beater,



12. 6.4. V AS H: guru-ridden<sup>1</sup> ghee-fried<sup>2</sup> khadi-bound<sup>3</sup>  
khaddar-clad<sup>4</sup> sari-clad<sup>5</sup>

and said ... . (AD 111) Tam tam, a native drum

<sup>16</sup>Tonga driver: Hind.; ... all large red flag announcing a meeting of tonga drivers in the evening. (VG 36)

<sup>1</sup>Guru-ridden: Hind. fr. Skt.; Calcutta has been guru-ridden. (FAF 171)

<sup>2</sup>Ghee-fried: Hind. ghi, Skt. ghr̥ita; He who preens himself in finery and eats ghee-fried bread. (He Who 205)

<sup>3</sup>Khadi-bound: Hind; He would go and get the white khadi-bound ... . (Kanth 41)

<sup>4</sup>Khaddar-clad: Hind; Khaddar-clad leaders and their chiffon-clad ladies. (1001 Nights 14)

<sup>5</sup>Sari-clad: ... as a sari-clad figure passed slow-footed along the corridor. (SMH 81)

12. 6, 5.    N AND N: aam session<sup>1</sup>    ahimsa soldier<sup>2</sup>    - spell<sup>3</sup>  
akashti holiday<sup>4</sup>    akkulu paddy<sup>5</sup>    anna coin<sup>6</sup>    angrezi furniture<sup>7</sup>  
arjun tree<sup>8</sup>    aruni-field<sup>9</sup>    aroti time<sup>10</sup>    - ceremony<sup>11</sup>    asirvad  
ceremony<sup>12</sup>    ashram camp<sup>13</sup>    - disciple<sup>14</sup>    asvatha tree<sup>15</sup>    attar  
bottle<sup>16</sup>    ayurveda system<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Aam session: Hind. fr. Arabic; The leading hotels have hardly a vacant table on gala nights and aam sessions. (T 10.6.59)

<sup>2</sup>Ahimsa soldier: Hind. fr. Skt.; You must train yourself to become a hundred percent Ahimsa soldier. (WM 78)

<sup>3</sup>Ahimsa spell: Devata has laid the ahimsa spell on Baruni. (SMH 84)

<sup>4</sup>Akashti holidays: Hind. fr. Skt.; It seemed to him now like the good old akashti holidays. (BH 162)

<sup>5</sup>Akkulu paddy: Dravidian; The harvest of akkulu paddy is proceeding briskly in certain places in the talug. (M 1.1.59)

<sup>6</sup>Anna coin: Hind.; I held up an anna coin before him and said ... (AD 123)

<sup>7</sup>Angrezi furniture: Hind.; ... the marvellous Angrezi furniture and pictures in it. (C 95) See page for the lexical set with angrezi as modifier.

<sup>8</sup>Arjuna tree: Hind. fr. Skt.; A lofty Arjuna tree which was being stormed by homing flocks of birds. (S of J 17)

<sup>9</sup>Aruni-field: Hind. fr. Skt.; We were near my aruni-field. (S & R 282)

<sup>10</sup>Aroti time: Hind. fr. Skt.; His owl-eyes seemed to eat Lekha's face at aroti time. (He Who 207)

<sup>11</sup>Aroti ceremony: Hind. fr. Skt.; A dealer in precious metal replaced the fire-flamed brass lamp for the aroti ceremony. (He Who 113)

<sup>12</sup>Asirvad ceremony: Hind. fr. Skt.; The bridegroom's party had arrived for the asirvad ceremony. (WM 115)

<sup>13</sup>Ashram camp: Hind. fr. Skt.; Yes in the Ashram Camp, we have to dine before seven usually. (WM 82)

<sup>14</sup>Ashram disciple: Hind. fr. Skt.; The yogi turned and spoke to an ashram disciple. (MM 82)

<sup>15</sup>Asvatha tree: Hind. fr. Skt.; Sturdy asvatha trees which had to be cut from time to time. (MM 99)

<sup>16</sup>Attar bottle: Hind. fr. Persian; The women grew silent as I came... with attar bottles... (S & R 266)

<sup>17</sup>Ayurveda system: Hind. fr. Skt.; There are many good drugs in our Ayurveda system. (MM 166)



baran rite<sup>1</sup> basar chamber<sup>2</sup> - room<sup>3</sup> basavana bull<sup>4</sup> bel-  
field<sup>5</sup> - leaves<sup>6</sup> - tree<sup>7</sup> bazaar street<sup>8</sup> Bhakti cult<sup>9</sup>  
bhajan song<sup>10</sup> bhurja tree<sup>11</sup> brahminic thread<sup>12</sup> chamar  
women<sup>13</sup> - people<sup>14</sup> choli-piece<sup>15</sup> chit-book<sup>16</sup> coolie-car<sup>17</sup>  
- hat<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Baran rites: Beng.; Would these baran rites never end?  
(MM 98)

<sup>2</sup>Basar chamber: Beng.; ... filled out later by secret side-ways looks in the crowded basar chamber. (MM 85)

<sup>3</sup>Basar room: Beng.; We'll have fun in the basar room cried Ela brightly. (MM 73)

<sup>4</sup>Basavana bull: Hind.; ... like some caste mark on a basavana bull... (S & R 293)

<sup>5</sup>Bel-field: Hind.; ... and he saw cars go up the Bebur Mound and the Bel-field. (Kanth 237)

<sup>6</sup>Bel-leaves: Hind.; ... flowers and bel-leaves also collected. (He Who 118)

<sup>7</sup>Bel-tree: (Kanth 165).

<sup>8</sup>Bazaar street: One town was very much like another: the same bazaar street. (BA 115)

<sup>9</sup>Bhakti cult: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... is today considered to be a citadel of the Bhakti cult.

<sup>10</sup>Bhajan song: Hind. fr. Skt.; There was a song, a bhajan song, and her husband had sung it always ... (SMH 171)

<sup>11</sup>Bhurja tree: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... made from the smooth bark of the burja tree. (MM 120)

<sup>12</sup>Brahminic thread (1): Hind. fr. Skt.; Bitten could not or would not wear the Brahminic thread. (He Who 171)

<sup>13</sup>Chamar women: Hind.; Lekha could have bent down on her knees and pressed her head humbly to the chamar woman's feet. (He Who 107)

<sup>14</sup>Chamar people: Chamar people seemed to have left. (He Who 106)

<sup>15</sup>Choli-piece: Hind.; ... so auspicious - with kumkum, coconut and choli-piece... (S & R 58)

<sup>16</sup>Chit-book: Hind. chitthi; ... the waiters .... scurried about with chit-books... (RH 71)

<sup>17</sup>Coolie-cars: ... and gas-lights and coolie-cars. (Kanth 265)

<sup>18</sup>Coolie-hat: ... shaped like a coolie-hat, protecting her head from the sun. (SIF 95)



dadān-money<sup>1</sup> dak bungalow<sup>2</sup> dakshina fund<sup>3</sup> damaru drum<sup>4</sup>  
dak edition<sup>5</sup> darbha grass<sup>6</sup> dal-soup<sup>7</sup> - water<sup>8</sup> deodar-  
timber<sup>9</sup> dhaman snake<sup>10</sup> dharmic-discipline<sup>11</sup> dhoti-fold<sup>12</sup>  
durbar hall<sup>13</sup> - turban<sup>14</sup> Durga festival<sup>15</sup> dusehra festival<sup>16</sup>  
ekadashi day<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dadan money: Beng.; Similar is the case with the advancing of Dadan money which is given to tribal people only. (HS 11.6.59)

<sup>2</sup>Dak bungalow: Hind.; He is staying at the dak bungalow north of the bridge. (TP 56) also (1001 Nights 198, AD 171)

<sup>3</sup>Dakshina fund: Hind. fr. Skt.; He established the Poona Sanskrit College out of Peshwa's dakshina fund. (Hist. of Ed. in India)

<sup>4</sup>Damaru drum: Hind. fr. Skt.; and the the rhythm of the damaru drum of Sina ... (F of F 237)

<sup>5</sup>Dak edition: Hind.; (See HT 2.3.61)

<sup>6</sup>Darbha grass: Hind. fr. Skt.; not only eats away all the rice but even the darbha grass. (S & R 194)

<sup>7</sup>Dal-soup: Hind.; Savithri has eaten only a dal-soup and rice. (Kanth 43)

<sup>8</sup>Dal water: Also spelt as dhal see (S & R 295)

<sup>9</sup>Deodar timber: Hind. dōvdar, Skt. dev dara; Sir, this - as your good self sees - is heavy deodar timber. (S of J 81) (cedrus deodara)

<sup>10</sup>Dhaman snake: Hind.; It was a dhaman snake, a big yellow brute at least two yards long. (MM 201)

<sup>11</sup>Dharmic-discipline: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... not knowing that neither cigarettes nor cinemas nor sense-enjoyment can lead to the path of dharmic-discipline ... (UN 205)

<sup>12</sup>Dhoti-fold: (S & R 150)

<sup>13</sup>Durbar hall: Hind. fr. Persian; The old man described the dazzling durbar hall. (AD 224)

<sup>14</sup>Durbar turban: ... his durbar turban on his head. (Kanth 167)

<sup>15</sup>Durga festival: Hind./Beng., fr. Skt.; ... and, when the next Durga festival comes, I will offer it to Goddess Tola-kamma. (CB 18)

<sup>16</sup>dusehra festival: Hind. fr. Skt.; (BH 15)

<sup>17</sup>Ekadashi day: Hindi fr. Skt.; Tomorrow, twenty seconds after the sixteenth hour, Mercury enters the seventh house and ekadashi day begins. (Kanth 42)



ghee-flavour<sup>2</sup> - merchant<sup>3</sup> golmohur tree<sup>4</sup>  
gurdwara committee<sup>5</sup> halqua committee<sup>6</sup> - president<sup>7</sup>  
Harikatha-man<sup>8</sup> himru jacket<sup>9</sup> holi festivity<sup>10</sup> hookah party<sup>11</sup>  
hogla leaves<sup>12</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Ghee-flavour: Hind.; He felt agony at the memory of crunchy, ghee-flavoured rice ... (WM 194)

<sup>3</sup>Ghee-merchant: Hind.; Bhawani the ghee-merchant had provided the first two. (DD 6)

<sup>4</sup>Golmohur tree: Hind.; The flaming blossoms of the golmohur tree were out. (RH 129)

<sup>5</sup>Gurdwara Committee: Hind.; The Gurdwara Committee had accepted a notice issued by the district authorities. (HT 2.9.61)

<sup>6</sup>Halqua Committee: Urdu fr. Persian; It is on account of the communal bias of the man that no Hindu is holding any office in the said Halqua Committee. (Vakil 19.5.60)

<sup>7</sup>Halqua president: They feel perturbed at the discriminatory attitude of the Govt. and the National Conference Halqua president. (Vakil 19.5.60)

<sup>8</sup>Harikatha-man: Hind. fr. Skt.; But he is even grander harikatha-man. (Kanth 23)

<sup>9</sup>Himru jacket: Dravidian; In honour of my departure Madeleine had put on the yellow Aurangabad himru jacket. (S & R 344)

<sup>10</sup>Holi festivity: ... the holi festivity, the Hindu Satu and natia ... was going to be suppressed. (F of F 269)

<sup>11</sup>Hookah party: Urdu, fr. Arab. hukkah; The hookah party at the servants' quarters broke up... (VG 108) Also spelt as hooker, houka, hooka, huk(k)ah, hoogqa. cf. OED p.374.

<sup>12</sup>Hogla leaves: Hind.; ... built of bamboos and roofed with hogla leaves ... (F of F 297)

jacaranda tree<sup>1</sup> jaltarang voice<sup>2</sup> janta college<sup>3</sup> - express<sup>4</sup>  
jantri-bird<sup>5</sup> jibba pocket<sup>6</sup> jungle path<sup>7</sup> kacha road<sup>8</sup> kadamba  
flower<sup>9</sup> - tree<sup>10</sup> kaliyuga flood<sup>11</sup> kalpavasa austerity<sup>12</sup>  
kamar girl<sup>13</sup> kartik light<sup>14</sup> kertik morning<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jacaranda tree: Hind.; Outside my window the big jacaranda tree flowered ... (RH 129)

<sup>2</sup>Jaltarang voice: Hind.; ... and you would hear the jaltarang voice. (S & R 363)

<sup>3</sup>Janta College: Hind. fr. Skt.; The Government has established a Janta College at Delhi... (Hist. of Ed. in India)

<sup>4</sup>Janta express: Hind.; ... which are being attached to certain Janta express trains. (HIT 30.12.59)

<sup>5</sup>Jantri bird: Hind.; ... a jantri bird started its rattling call. (F of F 53)

<sup>6</sup>Jibba pocket: Tamil; He thrust his fingers into his jibba pocket and went on twirling the notes. (WM 19)

<sup>7</sup>Jungle path: Hind.; ... and left him at the white beginnings of a jungle path on the frontiers. (S & R 121)

<sup>8</sup>Kacha road: Hind.; The Kacha road connecting it with mud-huts is more than a 'pagdandi'. (IE 14.11.58)

<sup>9</sup>Kadamba flower: Hind. fr. Skt.. (S & R 174)

<sup>10</sup>Kadamba tree: ... round the trunk of an aged kadamba tree... (F of F 50)

<sup>11</sup>Kaliyuga flood: Hind.; After all, my son, it is the kaliyuga floods. (Kanth 50)

<sup>12</sup>Kalpavasa austerity: Hind. fr. Skt.; This mother ... had gone many a time to perform the hard kalpavasa austerities. (MM 193)

<sup>13</sup>Kamar girl: Hind.; A kamar girl puts on the feathers of learning! (He Who 17)

<sup>14</sup>Kartik light: Hind.; ... and the kartik lights have died down. (Kanth 127)

<sup>15</sup>Kartik morning: Hind.; ... and the women were adorning the thresholds for a kartik morning. (Kanth 132)



keekar tree<sup>1</sup> - twig<sup>2</sup> khadi-cloth<sup>3</sup> kharif season<sup>4</sup> khilafat  
committee<sup>5</sup> Khus fibre<sup>6</sup> khus-khus blind<sup>7</sup> - grass<sup>8</sup> kirtan  
ceremony<sup>9</sup> kismet idea<sup>10</sup> korbani meat<sup>11</sup> kotwali police<sup>12</sup>  
kumkum mark<sup>13</sup> - box<sup>14</sup> - rice<sup>15</sup> - water<sup>16</sup> kunda blossom<sup>17</sup>  
- bush<sup>18</sup> kuruval harvest<sup>19</sup> - straw<sup>20</sup> kusa grass<sup>21</sup>  
kutchery road<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Keekar tree: Hind.; ... that stands upright under a keekar tree beside the pond. (TP 11)

<sup>2</sup>Keekar twig: Hind.; ... and chewing a keekar twig he used as a tooth brush. (TP 65)

<sup>3</sup>Khadi-cloth: Hind.; ... and wear no cloth but the khadi-cloth. (Kanth 109)

<sup>4</sup>kharif season: Urdu fr. Persian; ... at the end of the kharif season... (OR 15.7.59)

<sup>5</sup>Khilafat Committee: Urdu; She would attend all meetings held by the Congress and the Khilafat Committee. (1001 Nights 153) An anti-British movement started by Muslims in India in 1923. The other formations are Khilafat movement, Khilafat leader.

<sup>6</sup>Khus fibre: Hind.; The rich wear sunglasses and hide behind chicks of khus fibre. (TP 109)

<sup>7</sup>Khus-khus blind: Hind.; ... behind water-sprayed khus-khus blinds in their bungalows... (SIF 19)

<sup>8</sup>Khus-khus grass: New-woven blinds of khus-khus grass. (SIF 13)

<sup>9</sup>Kirtan ceremony: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... asking me if I would care to come to his place for kirtan ceremony. (F of F 207)

<sup>10</sup>Kismet idea: Urdu fr. Persian; ... but I know the old kismet idea is played out ... (BH 78)

<sup>11</sup>Korbani meat: Urdu fr. Persian; ... korbani meat when distributed to friends. (HS 15.5.59)

<sup>12</sup>Kotwali police: Urdu fr. Persian; The kotwali police, with the help of ... (P 10.6.59)

<sup>13</sup>Kumkum mark (1): Hind. fr. Skt.; ... and wear just a tiny kumkum mark. (Kanth 159)

<sup>14</sup>Kumkum box: There was a silver kumkum box... (S & R 213)

<sup>15</sup>Kumkum rice: The kumkum rice got warmed in our lands (S & R 123)

<sup>16</sup>Kumkum water: ... awaited the young prince with kumkum water... (S & R 123)

<sup>17</sup>Kunda blossom: Hind./Beng. fr. Skt.; Kunda blossoms, shell-white, lay strewn on the bed. (MM 106)

<sup>18</sup>Kunda bush: Hind. fr. Skt.; He rose before dawn, and crouched behind a white-blossomed kunda bush. (He Who 118)

19Kuruvai harvest: Dravidian; Because of incessant rain during the kuruvai harvest. (M 1.1.59)

20Kuruvai straw: ... the kuruvai straw has become useless. (M 1.1.59)

21Kusa grass: Hind. fr. Skt.; He would be out in the fields gathering the kusa grass. (MM 113)

22Kutchery Road: Urdu fr. Persian; ... and the dust of Kutchery Road rising to his nostrils. (BH 54)



lathi-charge<sup>1</sup> lotah shelf<sup>2</sup> Lohgarh gate<sup>3</sup> madhobi wine<sup>4</sup>  
mallika garland<sup>5</sup> mela ground<sup>6</sup> - festival<sup>7</sup> mithuna image<sup>8</sup>  
mofussil town<sup>9</sup> moholla people<sup>10</sup> Mondal Congress<sup>11</sup> motia  
flower<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lathi-charge: Hind. fr. Persian; The mob started stoning the police station and the police made lathi-charge. (HS 15.6.59)

<sup>2</sup>Lotah shelf: Hind.; The equipment in the lavatories includes 'D' type wah hand sink....lotah shelf. (HIT 30.12.59)

<sup>3</sup>Lohgarh gate: Hind.; You smell like the drain outside Lohgarh gate. (BH 132)

<sup>4</sup>Madhobi vine: Hind. fr Skt.; A madhobi vine curved arching over the narrow outer portal. (SMH 15)

<sup>5</sup>Mallika garland: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... mallika garlands hung thick from the railings and the posts. (MM 106)

<sup>6</sup>Mela ground: Hind. fr. Skt.; He inspected the mela ground where exhibition and... (HS 11.6.59)

<sup>7</sup>Mela festival: ... Governor of Bombay inaugurated the Ninth Childrens' Fair and mela festival. (HIT 28.12.59)

<sup>8</sup>Mithuna image: Hind. fr. Skt.; Whereas Leda and Europe belonged to the long-dead pagan Hellas, the mithuna images belonged to living India. (F of F 270)

<sup>9</sup>Mofussil town: Urdu fr. Arabic mufasssal; ... and had served for twenty years in various malarious mofussil towns. (1001 Nights 69)

<sup>10</sup>Moholla people: Hind. fr. Persian; ... has been organising and mobilising the Moholla people to start... (St. 9.6.59)

<sup>11</sup>Mondal Congress: Hind.; ... was accorded a reception by 59-Ward Mondal Congress Committee. (HS 15.6.59)

<sup>12</sup>Motia flower: Hind.; She seemed to be wilting like a pale white motia flower. (BH 127)

nala scheme<sup>1</sup> natu habits<sup>2</sup> nautch-girl<sup>3</sup> - party<sup>4</sup> nawari bed<sup>5</sup>  
nazul land<sup>6</sup> neem-leaves<sup>7</sup> - tree<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Nala scheme: Hind. nāla; The third scheme, the Pulwari Nala scheme, is to be executed. (FPJ 11.6.59)

<sup>2</sup>Natu habit: Hind.; But Bakha considered that both his uncle's and his father's spattering sips were natu habits. (Un 28)

<sup>3</sup>Nautch-girl: Hind. nāch; "I understand" he said and nudged at the nautch-girl. (F of F 13)

<sup>4</sup>Nautch-party: ... now it was nautch-parties and no tigers. (S & R 289)

<sup>5</sup>Nawari bed: Hind.; ... lay fast asleep on the superior Nawari bed... (BH 28)

<sup>6</sup>Nazul land: Urdu fr. Persian; ... proposal has been made to sell a major part of the Government nazul land to... (HT 1.2.61)

<sup>7</sup>Neem-leaves: Hind. nim, Skt. nimba; They are as bitter as the neem-leaves and the fever will come just the same. (Kanth 86) Meliaceae.

<sup>8</sup>Neem tree: over the wall rose a dense neem tree that... (Hat. A 140)



pan shop<sup>1</sup> - stall<sup>2</sup> panguni month<sup>3</sup> Panchayat board<sup>4</sup> -  
mound<sup>5</sup> - hall<sup>6</sup> pashmina jacket<sup>7</sup> - robe<sup>8</sup> peepul tree<sup>9</sup>  
pheni dinner<sup>10</sup> puja ceremony<sup>11</sup> - festival<sup>12</sup> punkah-boy<sup>13</sup>  
rope<sup>14</sup> pushya night<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pan shop: Hind.; Once he had been an assistant in a pan shop. (DD 25) Also spelt as paan.

<sup>2</sup>Pan stall: Across the tank was an angry little kerosen light from a paan stall. (RH 80)

<sup>3</sup>Panguni month: Dravidian; She will certainly be married in Panguni month. (BA 83)

<sup>4</sup>Panchayat board: Hind.; An unusual rural Panchayat board for local government in South India composed entirely of women... (M of I June, 61)

<sup>5</sup>Panchayat mound: He rushed up the village road to the panchayat mound. (Kanth 69)

<sup>6</sup>Panchayat Hall: ... the Paria Night School that Senu held in the Panchayat Hall every evening. (Kanth 116)

<sup>7</sup>Pashmina jacket: Hind.; He stroked his soft pashmina jacket.. (H at A 173)

<sup>8</sup>Pashmina robe: ... Pulling on a light pashmina robe... (H at A 176)

<sup>9</sup>Peepul tree: Hind.; ... with a large peepul tree in the middle. (TP 10) also (VG 73) Also spelt as pipal. (Ficus religiosa)

<sup>10</sup>Pheni dinner: Hind.; ... the laddu and pheni dinner at night. (S & R 277)

<sup>11</sup>Puja ceremony: Hind. fr. Skt.; He was told there was no need for him to go through the Puja ceremony. (F of F 69)

<sup>12</sup>Puja festival: Beng. fr. Skt.; Just before the last puja festival another friend of mine ... (ABP 28.10.59)

<sup>13</sup>Punkah-boy: Hind.; I can not make a punkah-boy obey... (S & R 90)

<sup>14</sup>Punkah rope: Hind.; ... and was sitting on the verandah tying and untying knots in the punkah rope. (TP 28)

<sup>15</sup>Pushya night: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... and that is why one pushya night Kitta put the bulls to the cart. (Kanth 142)

ragi paste<sup>1</sup> ragmala paintings<sup>2</sup> Rambagh gate<sup>3</sup> raree-show<sup>4</sup>  
rohini star<sup>5</sup> rudrakshi bead<sup>6</sup> - band<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ragi paste: Dravidian; ... go back to their huts to gobble ragi paste and pickle. (Kanth 83)

<sup>2</sup>Ragmala paintings: Hind. fr. Skt.; Ragmala paintings depicting the classical musical themes. (S of J 34)

<sup>3</sup>Rambagh gate: Hind.; ... who meet in the houses of prostitutes inside Rambagh gate. (BH 175)

<sup>4</sup>Raree-show: Beng.; ... though Bahurupis were rare in Calcutta they were as numerous as raree-shows. (F of F 36)

<sup>5</sup>Rohini star: Hind.; fr. Skt.; Oh, tomorrow is the rohini star, and people will yoke their bulls to the plough. (Kanth 165)

<sup>6</sup>Rudrakshi bead: Hind. fr. Skt.; He wears gold-cased rudrakshi beads at his neck. (Kanth 136)

<sup>7</sup>Rudrakshi band: ... with lacquer-coloured rudrā-kshi band against a line of fine gold ... . (S & R 272)



sainik school<sup>1</sup> sarkari spy<sup>2</sup> sal leaves<sup>3</sup> samba straw<sup>4</sup> sanai  
music<sup>5</sup> sandhi rites<sup>6</sup> sankrat fair<sup>7</sup> Sarvodaya Conference<sup>8</sup>  
sari-fringe<sup>9</sup> satyagraha campaign<sup>10</sup> satyagraha movement<sup>11</sup>  
satyanarain procession<sup>12</sup> Shagan ceremony<sup>13</sup> Shahdidi-day<sup>14</sup>  
sherbet shop<sup>15</sup> sheesham trunk<sup>16</sup> shirshasana posture<sup>17</sup> sindur  
mark<sup>18</sup> Sonamukhi rice<sup>19</sup> sravan month<sup>20</sup> sudra lines<sup>21</sup>  
swadeshi-cloth<sup>22</sup> swadeshi shroud<sup>23</sup> swantantra candidate<sup>24</sup>  
swantantra party<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sainik school: Hind.; The first sainik school to be established. (IN 177.61.)

<sup>2</sup>Sarkari spy: Hind. fr. Persian; ... sarkari spy that you are! (BH 51)

<sup>3</sup>Sal leaves: Beng.; Mohini arranged fried bread and sweets on brad sal leaves stitched together with ... (MM 93)

<sup>4</sup>Samba straw: Dravidian; Prices of old samba straw have risen from Rs.10 per cent per cast-load... (MIL.1.59)

<sup>5</sup>Sanai music: Urdu fr. Persian; After star-rise the sanai music came thick and sweet. (MM 72)

<sup>6</sup>Sandhi rites: Hind.; fr. the significance of the obscure sandhi rites that every Brahmin worth the name performs daily. (AD 53)

<sup>7</sup>Sankrat fair: Hind. fr. Skt.; Preparations for month long sankrat fair at ... (HIT 28.12.59)

<sup>8</sup>Sarvodaya Conference: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... for the Sarvodaya Conference two years ago. (AT 9.6.59)

<sup>9</sup>Sari-fringe: ... pulls at the sari-fringe. (S & R 12)

<sup>10</sup>Satyagraha campaign: Hind. fr. Skt.; The satyagraha campaign is in support of the Union demands. (BJ 7.6.59)

<sup>11</sup>Satyagraha movement: Hind. fr. Skt.; Gandhigi's satyagraha movement... (SMH 73)

<sup>12</sup>Satyanarain procession: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... with the satyanarain procession in front of us. (Kanth 240)

<sup>13</sup>Shagan ceremony: Hind.; Now please, come to the Shagan ceremony in the afternoon. (BH 124)

<sup>14</sup>Shahdidi-day: Urdu fr. Persian; Shahdidi-day of Guru Arjan Dev, the third Guru, was observed here... (I 12.6.59)

<sup>15</sup>Sherbet shop: Bali's little grocery and sherbet shop. (BH 98)

<sup>16</sup>Sheesham trunk: Hind.; ... in her eighteenth century skel and sheesham trunk... (S & R 9)

- 17 Shirshasana posture: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... he kept the shirshasana posture. (H & A 30)
- 18 Sindur mark: Hind. fr. Skt.; Let the sindur mark ever trace the parting in your hair. (MM 99)
- 19 Sonamukhi rice: Hind./Beng.; This is the rice of the finest kind, do you know? Sonamukhi rice. (SMH 77)
- 20 Sravan month: Hind.; It will be in the dark half of the sravan month. (Kanth 63)
- 21 Sudra lines: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... and then there is such a cry again from the sudra lines. (Kanth 242)
- 22 Swadeshi-cloth: Hind.; if it is going to mean that in the end we will have a monopoly of swadeshi-cloth... (UH 208)
- 23 Swadeshi shroud: Hind.; She was the first one to be buried in a swadeshi shroud. (1001 Nights 154)
- 24 Swantantra candidate: Hind.; ... vote for the independent or the swantantra candidate? (L 9.4.61)
- 25 Swantantra party: Hind.; ... with the establishment and active functioning of the swantantra party. (FPJ 11.6.59)



taccavi loan<sup>1</sup> taluk office<sup>2</sup> - magistrate<sup>3</sup> taffeta curtain<sup>4</sup>  
Tehsil school<sup>5</sup> Thai month<sup>6</sup> tambourin music<sup>7</sup> thathiar  
brotherhood<sup>8</sup> toddy shop<sup>9</sup> thothi house<sup>10</sup> tulsi beads<sup>11</sup>  
- leaf<sup>12</sup> - plant<sup>13</sup> - platform<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Taccavi loan: Urdu fr. Persian; ... remission of taccavi loans and the suspension of land ... (HT 1.9.58)

<sup>2</sup>Taluk office: Urdu fr. Arabic ta'lluk; ... in front of the various district collectors' offices as also fine taluk offices. (SL 14.6.59) also (AD 61; Kanth 147)

<sup>3</sup>Taluk magistrate: Perhaps the taluk magistrate! (Kanth 201)

<sup>4</sup>Taffeta curtain: Hind. fr. Persian; ... the fantasy of taffeta curtains reached the floor. (RH 97)

<sup>5</sup>Tehsil school: Urdu fr. Persian; By 1830 only nine district schools and sixty-one Tehsil schools were established. (Hist. of Ed. in India)

<sup>6</sup>Thai month: Dravidian; We had an idea of doing it in next Thai month. (HD 12)

<sup>7</sup>Tambourin music: Hind. fr. Arabic; ... it is tambourine music ... (Kanth 203)

<sup>8</sup>Thathiar brotherhood: They might lose their manhood, the dignity of their place in the thathiar brotherhood. (BH 78)

<sup>9</sup>Toddy shop: It is reported that a big mob picketed in front of a toddy shop. (HS 15.6.59)

<sup>10</sup>Thothi house: Dravidian; Pock-marked Sidda had a real thothi house with a big veranda and a large roof... (Kanth 19)

<sup>11</sup>Tulsi beads: Hind. fr. Skt.; take the tulsi beads ... (F of F 49)

<sup>12</sup>Tulsi-leaf: ... whereupon M took tulsi-leaf and water and gave the daughter unto ... (S & R 253)

<sup>13</sup>Tulsi plant: ... with the sacred tulsi plant in the yard. (SMH 117)

<sup>14</sup>Tulsi platform: ... by the well and round the tulsi platform (Kanth 226)

upanayanam ceremony<sup>1</sup> upanishadic ancestors<sup>2</sup> - sages<sup>3</sup> veena  
solo<sup>4</sup> veranda chairs<sup>5</sup> - wall<sup>6</sup> Vinayaka festival<sup>7</sup> vilayati  
fashion<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Upanayanam ceremony: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... Since my upanayanam ceremony. (S & R 323)

<sup>2</sup>Upanishadic ancestors: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... my legendary to upanishadic ancestors ... (S & R 7)

<sup>3</sup>Upanishadic sages: somewhere on these very banks the upanishadic sages ... (S & R 25)

<sup>4</sup>Veena solo: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... concert itself began with an interminable veena solo... (RH 205)

<sup>5</sup>Veranda chairs: ... looking at the inviting lines of the rattan veranda chairs... (H at A 160) See Beamer, Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages. He gives the origin as Skt. baranda, 'portico'; Beng. baranda; Hind. váranda, and further adds: "Most of our wiseacre litterateurs (q.v. litterateurs) in Hindustan nowadays consider this word to be derived from Pers. baramadah, and write it accordingly. It is, however, good Sanskrit." (i, 153).

<sup>6</sup>Veranda wall: Lekha sat leaning against the veranda wall a long time. (He Who 60)

<sup>7</sup>Vinayaka festival: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... and for the god during the celebration of the Vinayaka festival in the hostel. (ET 21)

<sup>8</sup>Vilayati fashion: Hind.; ... a living, heart to heart appreciation of Vilayati fashions is what is wanted. (BH 185)



yagna ceremony<sup>1</sup> yagna fire<sup>2</sup> yakka carriage<sup>3</sup> yakka stand<sup>4</sup>  
yogic exercise<sup>5</sup> zamindari system<sup>6</sup> - area<sup>7</sup> zari work<sup>8</sup>  
zenana affair<sup>9</sup> - life<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Yagna ceremony: Hind. fr. Skt.; The yagna ceremony was performed on certain sacred days. (He Who 113)

<sup>2</sup>Yagna fire: The yagna fire is to be lit a week hence. (He Who 214)

<sup>3</sup>Yakka carriage: Hind.; For here were swarms of women and children, running after tonga and yakka carriage. (BH 55)

<sup>4</sup>Yakka stand: ... had gone to meet Nikka's prospective father-in-law at the yakka stand. (BH 60)

<sup>5</sup>Yogic exercise: Hind. fr. Skt.; ... liked to do his morning yogic exercise... . (H at A 29)

<sup>6</sup>Zamindari system: Urdu fr. Persian; when the zamindari system has been put an end to ... . (IN 8.7.61)

<sup>7</sup>Zamindari area: ... U.P., Bihar and such places are old zamindari areas. (IN 8.7.61)

<sup>8</sup>Zari work: Hind.; ... are given training in ... zari work. (AT 9.6.59)

<sup>9</sup>Zenana affair: Urdu fr. Persian; ... and I can't put foot down on zenana affair. (F of F 66)

<sup>10</sup>Zenana life: ... Seven hundred years of zenana life... . (S & R 181)

12. 7.0. The hybrid-formations, with derivative suffixes, from L1 or L2 have been grouped as:

1. Indian head and English derivational suffix;
2. English head and Indian derivational suffix;
3. Indian head and English prefix of negation.

12. 7.1. The following English derivative suffixes are used with Indian lexical items:

- (a) - dom, cooliedom<sup>1</sup>
- (b) - hood, sadhuhood<sup>2</sup>; sahib hood<sup>3</sup>
- (c) - ism, goondaism<sup>4</sup>
- (d) - ship, patelship<sup>5</sup>
- (e) - worth, piceworth<sup>6</sup>
- (f) - ic, upanishadic<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Prabha, who had risen from cooliedom to be the petit bourgeois of a factory..." (C 94)

<sup>2</sup>"... cried the Sadhu in the peculiar lingo of Sadhuhood." (Un 59)

<sup>3</sup>"... a tunic and all the paraphernalia of Sahib hood." (C 183)

<sup>4</sup>"Many suffered because they opposed the Government for its inhumanity or denounced goondaism and high-handedness." (The Hist. of St. for F. in K. p.413)

<sup>5</sup>"Our Range Gowda got dismissed from his patel-ship." (Kanth 144)

<sup>6</sup>"... pice-worth of salt from the grocer." (SMH 161)

<sup>7</sup>"... my legendary upanishadic ancestors." (S & R 25)



12. 7.2. We found only one suffix, -wallah,<sup>1</sup> which is used with a large number of nouns to denote an owner, or possessor, or master, for instance, higher-type-wallah<sup>2</sup> factory wallah<sup>3</sup> congress wallah<sup>4</sup> five-rupee wallah<sup>5</sup> police wallah<sup>6</sup>

12. 7.3. The English prefix of negation non may be used with any Indian lexical item, for instance, non-Brahmin,<sup>7</sup> non-Adivasis<sup>8</sup>

12. 8.0. A formal analysis does not take us very far in understanding the impact of socio-cultural factors on a language and its meaning at other levels. In 9.4. an attempt is made to classify the hybrid formations contextually in order

<sup>1</sup>HJ (p.185) gives competition-wallah used in modern Anglo-Indian colloquial for members of the Civil Service who have entered it by the competitive system first introduced in 1856. About the suffix wallah it says, "... is properly a Hindi adjectival affix, corresponding in a general way to the Latin -arius. Its usual employment as affix to a substantive makes it frequently denote "agent, doer, keeper, man, inhabitant, master, lord, possessor, owner," as Shakespeare vainly tries to define it, and as in Anglo-Indian usage is popularly assumed to be its meaning. But this kind of denotation is incidental; there is no real limitation to such meaning. This is demonstrable from such usual phrases as kabul-wala ghora, 'the kabulian horse', and from the common form of village nomenclature in the Punjab, e.g. Mir-khan-wala, Ganda-Singh-wala, and so forth implying the village established by Mir-Khan or Ganda Singh."

<sup>2</sup>In a status-conscious Chaudigarh the higher-type-wallahs do not always take kindly to the lower-type residents... (HT 10.6.59)

<sup>3</sup>Also factory wallah. (C 82)

<sup>4</sup>We will tell these congress wallahs... (R & H 119)

<sup>5</sup>five-rupee wallah: (BJ 7.6.59)

<sup>6</sup>(SMH 61)

<sup>7</sup>"... by a class of worshippers, known as Daitas, who are non-Brahmins." (OR 15.7.59)

<sup>8</sup>"She was profusely garlanded by prominent citizens including ladies both Adivasis and non-Adivasis." (ABP 26.10.59)

<sup>9</sup>See K.L. Pike, Language, "... in our view, neither an approach through meaning alone, nor one through form alone is valid, but that in every step in linguistic analysis we must retain a form-meaning composite as essential to analysis and definition." (p.150).

to illustrate how the process of Indianisation has been determined by the context. This applies <sup>specially</sup> to the hybrid formations, which are essentially manifestations of socio-linguistic interrelation.

12. 8.1. By Indianisation we mean formal/contextual features of a text, which mark it, on the one hand, from the other varieties of English, and on the other, make it effective for communication in the Indian contexts.

12. 8.2. Any context is Indian, if at the formal level we have exponents which are either to be accounted for in Indian situations and/or treated as un-English. They are un-English since the language is operating in an 'un-English' C. of S.

12. 8.3. We have taken some hybrid forms - usually termed Indianisms - and labelled them under different contextual heads. Their distribution in different contexts is shown by their frequency in different contexts in the following table. The grouping has been rather arbitrary since the possibility of contextual overlapping cannot be ruled out.



12. 8.4. TABLE SHOWING FREQUENCY OF HYBRID FORMS IN  
DIFFERENT CONTEXTS

Context	%	Context	%
1. Administration: General	2.8	17. Medicine/drugs	0.2
2. Agriculture	3.8	18. Modes of address/ reference	7.1
3. Animals/reptiles/birds	0.9	19. Money/Banking	1.2
4. Arms	0.2	20. Names of month/days	1.6
5. Articles of daily use	3.4	21. Occupation	3.8
6. Art/music	3.2	22. Place names	2.9
7. Buildings	1.4	23. Politics	6.9
8. Clothes/dress	7.8	24. Public services	0.4
9. Commercial	3.4	25. Religion/rituals	10.9
10. Concepts	0.4	26. Social: General/ functions	9.8
11. Edibles/drinks	2.5	27. Speech/language	0.4
12. Education	0.9	28. Trees/flowers	8.9
13. Evaluation	3.9	29. Villages : General	0.9
14. Furniture	3.4	30. Vehicles/carriages	1.6
15. Festivals	2.0	31. Weight/measures	0.2
16. Habits	0.4	32. Women	1.8

12. 9.0. Contextual Classification:(1) ADMINISTRATION:  
GENERAL

city-kotwali,  
halqua committee,  
-president,  
kotwali police,  
mofussil town,  
nala scheme,  
police thana,  
ration-lathi  
ration ghat,  
taluk office,  
-magistrate,

(4) ARMS

curved-kukri.

(2) AGRICULTURE

akkullu paddy,  
basungi paddi,  
dadan money,  
hundred bighas,  
kharif crop,  
-season,  
-production,  
kuruwai harvest,  
-straw,  
landless kisan,  
nazul-land,  
rabi crop,  
samba straw,  
Sonamukhi rice,  
taccavi loan.

(3) ANIMALS/REPTILES  
BIRDS

basavana-bull,  
Brahminee bull,  
dhaman snake,  
jantri bird.

(5) ARTICLES OF USE

Angrezi teapot,  
attar-bottle,  
chit-book,  
cotton-kapas,  
cotton satranji,  
glass choorie,  
khus fibre,  
-grass,  
khus-khus blind,  
taffeta curtain,  
lotah shelf,  
pashmina-shawl,  
punkah rope,  
tiffin carrier.



(6) ART/MUSIC

bazaar musician,  
damaru drum,  
jaltarang voice,  
mithuna image,  
nautch party,  
-girl,  
rangmala paintings,  
raree show,  
sarangi player,  
senai player,  
-music,  
tambourin music,  
veena solo,

(7) BUILDINGS

dak bungalow,  
durbar hall,  
panchayat hall,  
ugly katra,  
thothi house  
veranda wall.

(9) COMMERCIAL

cotton-kapas,  
deodar timber,  
dak edition,  
four-anna entrance,  
-class,  
khadi-bound,  
pan shop, -stall,  
Saturday haat,  
sherbet shop,  
toddy shop, -booth,  
-pot,  
-contract.

(8) CLOTHING/DRESS

Angrezi clothes,  
cotton sari,  
-pyjamas,  
choli-piece,  
coolie-hat,  
Durbar-turban,  
homespun khaddar,  
himru jacket,  
jibba pocket,  
khadi board,  
-clad,  
-cloth; -coat,  
-competition, -shop,  
Khaki coat, -shorts,  
-uniform,  
pashmina jacket,  
-robe,  
sari clad, -end,  
-hem, -fringe,  
saffron-sari,  
silk dhoti,  
solar topee,  
swadeshi shroud,  
village sari,  
white-dhotied,  
worship sari.

(10) CONCEPTS

counterfeit kismet,  
kismet idea.

(13) EVALUATION

Babu-like,  
-mentality,  
chamar people,  
evil sarkar,  
eternal unavasi,  
goonda-like, -ism,  
-looking,  
guru-ridden,  
low-thathiar,  
natu habits,  
obscene sarkar,  
paria mixer,  
sarkari spy,  
vilayati mixture,  
-fashions.

(11) EDIBLES/DRINKS

Angrezi sweets,  
coconut paysam,  
double roti,  
dal-soup, -mixture,  
-water,  
ghee-fried,  
gram-khir  
mango-chutney  
pan leaf,  
onion curry,  
-pecoras,  
madhobi vine,  
potato bonda,  
pheni dinner,  
ragi paste,  
tamarind chutney,  
thick chapati,  
vermillion paysam,  
wheat chapatti.

(12) EDUCATION

Dakshina fund,  
Janta College,  
Sainik School,  
Tehsil School,

(14) FURNITURE

Angrezi furniture,  
-chairs,  
cotton-satranji,  
nawari bed,  
string charpai,  
veranda chair.

(15) FESTIVALS

durga festival,  
Gusehra festival,  
ganesh festival,  
gauri festival,  
holi festival,  
Krishna festival,  
Rama festival,  
satyanarayana  
procession,  
vinayaka festival.



(16) HABITS

Beedi-smoking,  
pan-spitting.

(19) MONEY/BANKING

anna-coin,  
copper pie,  
five lakh,  
nickel anna,  
pice-worth.

(21) OCCUPATIONS

beedi seller,  
biri making,  
chausrasi hood,  
durri making,  
-weaving,  
gang coolie,  
ghee merchant,  
jutka driver, -man,  
khadi spinning,  
palki bearer,  
sherbet dealer,  
tonga driver,  
zari work,  
-making.

(17) MEDICINE/DRUGS

ayurveda system.

(20) NAMES OF MONTHS/  
DAYS

kartik light,  
-morning,  
mid-aswan,  
Panguni month,  
pushya night,  
Sravan month,  
Thai month.

(22) PLACE NAMES

bazaar street,  
fish bazaar,  
flower bazaar,  
gymkhana ground,  
jungle path,  
Kutchery road,  
Kacha road,  
Lohgarh gate,  
mela-ground,  
Rambagh gate,  
thothi house,  
ugly katra.

(18) MODES OF ADDRESS/  
REFERENCE

Angrezi women,  
auspicious Brahmin,  
babu manager,  
Brahma admirer,  
British sarkar,  
college babu,  
colonel sahib,  
charas smuggler,  
Christian Sadhu,  
doctor sahib,  
factory wallah,  
five-rupee wallah,  
foreign sahib,  
great guru,  
higher-type wallah,  
high-class Lalla,  
hillman coolie,  
inspector sahib,  
kamar girl,  
memsahib,  
Miss sahib,  
Mister Zamindar,  
pot-bellied banya,  
police jamadar,  
punkah-boy,  
sahib workman,  
sentry sahib, village  
baniya,  
tom-tom beater,

(23) POLITICS(25) RELIGION AND RITUALS

ahimsa soldier, akoshti holidays, puja room, -festival,  
ashram camp, -sweeper, aroti ceremony, - offering,  
-scavenger, -disciple, -song, -time, purnima-moon,  
Congress-nandal, -raj, asirvad ceremony, religious diwan,  
imperial-raj, burning ghat, rohini star,  
khadi competition, bhajan song, rudrakshi band, -bead,  
-bound, Bhakli cult, sandhi rites,  
khaddar clad, dharmic discipline, shirshasana posture,  
khilafat committee, ekadashi day, upanayanam ceremony,  
lathi charge, -blows, evening puja, upanishadic ancestors,  
-curb, -stick, -bhajan, -sages,  
mandal congress, vinayaka festival,  
sarvodaya conference, great juggernaut, yagna ceremony, -fire,  
-leader, gurdwara committee, yoga philosophy,  
statewide hartal, harikatha performer, -exercise,  
satyagraha campaign, -man,  
-movement, holy mantra,  
shahdidi day, kartik lights, -morning,  
swadeshi cloth, kaliyuga flood,  
-hood, -shroud, Kashi-pilgrimage,  
swatantra party, kalpavasa austerities,  
-candidate, kirtan singing,  
korbani meat,

(24) PUBLIC SERVICES

canal bund,  
tank bund.



(26) SOCIAL: GENERAL(27) SPEECH/LANGUAGE

anjali salutation,    paria log, -mixer,    Angrezi-speech,  
baran rite,    -polluter, -quarter, Babu-English.  
basar chamber,    -street,  
-room    sudra quarters,  
Brahminic corner,    -corner, -street,  
-priest, -thread,    -lines,  
-quarter,    untouchable paria,  
-restaurant, -role,    aam session,  
-street,    shajan ceremony.  
ceremonial pronom,  
communal hookah,  
durbar turban,  
haldi invitation,  
hookah party,  
kumkum box, -worship,  
-mark, -rice, -water,  
-tray,  
marriage pandal,  
mela festival,  
mango pendal, -ground,  
magh cattle fair,  
moholla people,

(28) TREES/FLOWERS

arjuna tree,  
aruni-field,  
asvatha tree,  
bel leaves, -tree,  
-field,  
bhurja tree,  
bokul tree,  
darba-grass,  
gold mohar,  
golmohur-tree,  
hogla leaves,  
jacaranda tree,  
kadamba-flower,  
-tree,  
kikir tree, -twig,  
kunda blossom,  
-bush,  
kusa grass,  
mallika garland,  
motia flower,  
neem leaves, -tree,  
peepul tree,  
sal leaves,

serpent pinal,  
sheesham-trunk,  
toddy trees, -grove,  
-branch,  
tulsi beads, -plant,  
-platform, -leaf,  
wild kachu.

(31) WEIGHT/MEASURES

half-seer.

(32) WOMEN

chamar women,  
pardah system,  
-women  
-women,  
kamar girl,  
sudra women,  
sindur-mark,  
zenana life, -affair.

(29) VILLAGES: GENERAL

false-patel,  
panchayat board,  
-mound,  
village panchayat.

(30) VEHICLES/CARRIAGES

coolie-car,  
open-buggy,  
janta express,  
rail gadi,  
tonga carriage,  
yakka carriage,  
yakka stand.











12. 10.0. The impact of different Indian Languages on the hybrid-formations has been shown in the following table and the percentages apply to the corpus included in this chapter.

TABLE :: SHOWING INDIAN LANGUAGES IN HYBRID-FORMATIONS

Language	%
Hindi <sup>1</sup>	38.6
Hindustani	38.6
Urdu	8.9
Bengali	3.8
Dravidian : General	4.1
Tamil	2.0
Marathi	0.8
Punjabi	0.8
Gujarati	0.4
Doubtful <sup>2</sup>	2.0

<sup>1</sup>The distinction between Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu has been very arbitrary.

<sup>2</sup>The forms like tiffin-carrier etc. have been treated as doubtful.

13. 1.0. In this section we are primarily concerned with certain IE formations which include compounds and collocations,<sup>1</sup> with all the components from BE.<sup>2</sup> A compound or a collocation is an 'Indianism' if they have one or more of the following characteristics.

- (i) if they deviate grammatically from BE compounding;
- (ii) if they are contextually 'unEnglish';<sup>3</sup>
- (iii) if they are 'loan-shifts'<sup>4</sup> from L1's;
- (iv) if they are collocationally Indian.<sup>5</sup>

By IE collocation we mean those formations or sets:

- (i) which are contextually Indian, or
- (ii) which are collocationally uncommon in BE.

In both the cases there is deviation. In the first case it is contextually determined deviation, and in the second case, it is formal deviation in terms of sets which operate in the structure of a collocation.

13. 1.1. The deviations in a formation have the following possibilities:

<sup>1</sup>In a general sense, we could say, the items of a compound also are in a collocational 'relationship', in the sense that the items have a 'specific' meaning, but the question is: shall we consider the relationship of the components 'habitual' in the same sense as the relationship of the items in 'a collocation'? The relationship of compounds is grammatically determined which at this stage, cannot be said about the collocations, unless enough statistical evidence is available.

<sup>2</sup>As opposed to hybrid-formations, with one or more components from IE.

<sup>3</sup>And if the BE speaker/writer has no parallel CS for such forms.

<sup>4</sup>The term loan-shift is used for transfer of L1 items into IE. It includes compounds and collocations. (cf. Haugen, op. cit. p.10). For a detailed discussion on the transfer of the grammatical units of L1 to L2 see chapter 11 Lexico-grammatical Transference.

<sup>5</sup>The numbers (ii) and (iv) are not mutually exclusive. What is contextually 'unEnglish', is often, collocationally also, 'unEnglish'.



## POSSIBILITIES OF NATURE OF DEVIATION

Items	Collocation of items	Contextual- ization of items	Deviation
(i) usual	usual	unusual	contextual
(ii) usual	unusual	unusual	formal/contextual
(iii) at least one unusual	unusual	unusual	formal/contextual

In (i) we take forms like, flower-bed (MM 105) which has normal collocation of two items, and is accepted by a native speaker as 'usual'; but the contextual meaning in IE (in the present case) is entirely different from what a native speaker of English would, possibly, understand. The meaning of such formations is intelligible, when they are related to the appropriate CS; the deviation, then, is only contextual.

In (ii) the items of formations are usual in BE, but the collocation is unusual, for example, sister-sleeper (V of G 130) is not possible in BE. This has both formal and contextual deviation: it is contextual deviation in the sense that in IE it functions in the speech-function of abuses/curses (cf. chapter 14), and perhaps a BE speaker would not use it in such a context. Separate-eating (Kanth 51), dining-leaf (WM 84) are other examples which again are contextually determined.

In (iii), an 'unusual' item, say item (a), is collocated with item (b), which is normal in that context. For instance, in mango-breast (TP 15), the deviation is in the sense that mango does not collocate with breast in BE. Perhaps, the reason is that contextually mango as a fruit is exotic in Britain, (hence the 'secondary' meaning of the lexical items are absent in BE). If mango is substituted by rubber, chicken or pigeon, it would, perhaps, be a normal - or acceptable - collocation.

13. 2.0. In 1.0. we have used both the terms, collocation and compounds, an attempt has been made to make a distinction between these two. The classification of collocations is, perhaps, less complex, if we compare it with the problems of the classification of compounds.

13. 2.1. Any formation, which does not fulfil the criterion of a compound (cf. 5.1.) but has the characteristics of a collocation has been included in this section. The term formation is a covering term for both.

13. 3.0. In the classification of compounding in IE the problem is: what criteria shall we use to define a compound and to regard two components as forming a compound? There is no final answer to these questions, and a formal classification on a single criteria - even for other forms of English like BE and AE - leaves many questions unanswered. There is no agreement among linguists themselves and different methods have been adopted. There are, however, more problems when we come to discuss compounding in IE (cf. 4.0.).



13. 3.1. In determining two items as compounds (a) historical, (b) graphological, (c) phonological, (d) grammatical, (semantic) criteria have been adopted. We discuss these below to see how the problem has been tackled, and what particular problems there are in our IE corpus which warrant a different approach:

13. 3.2. Historical criteria: Brugmann's main aim was to study if there are recognizable stages in some process of historical development during which certain compounds got to be the way they are.<sup>1</sup>

13. 3.3. Graphological criteria: The typographers have adopted a pragmatic view towards syntax and formal criteria.<sup>2</sup>

13. 3.4. Phonological criteria: The linguists who adopt phonological criteria may be divided into the following two groups:

- (i) those who take only stress pattern into consideration;
- (ii) those who take stress and 'form' into consideration.

The above groups attempt to classify compounds on:

- (a) the phonemic modification of the components;
- (b) the kind of juncture between them;
- (c) the stress pattern or

<sup>1</sup>See R.B. Lees, The Grammar of English Nominalizations (IJAL supplement) p.XIX.

<sup>2</sup>For a detailed description of the criteria of style manuals as used by printers see: A.M. Ball, Compounding in the English Language, (New York, 1939), pp.32-41.

(d) the combination of (a), (b), and (c).<sup>1</sup>

There are different opinions about the degrees of stress. Newman<sup>2</sup> and Marchand<sup>3</sup> accept three degrees of stress, i.e., heavy stress, middle stress, weak stress. Bloch and Trager<sup>4</sup> have four phonemic stresses, i.e. loud stress, reduced loud stress, medial stress, and weak stress.

Bloomfield<sup>5</sup> takes stress as a basis but he further divides the compounds into: syntactic, asyntactic, semi-syntactic. He, then, takes stress and form both into consideration.

13. 3.5. Grammatical (semantic) criteria: This refers to Jespersen (and others who followed him) who take formal and mentalistic criteria to define a compound.

We have to reject the criteria (a) and (b) not only for the reasons given by Jespersen<sup>6</sup> and Hill<sup>7</sup> but also for certain other reasons which are discussed in 4.0. Jespersen's reason for rejecting stress is that, "although level stress composition is a fairly recent development in English, the number of such combinations is considerable, and seemingly on the increase. If, therefore, we stick to the criteria of

<sup>1</sup>See B. Bloch, and G.L. Trager, "An Outline of Linguistic Analysis" p.66.

<sup>2</sup>Newman, S.S., "On the Stress Pattern of English", Word 2, pp2171-1875, 1946.

<sup>3</sup>Marchand, H., "Notes on Nominal Compounds in Present/day English", Word, p.216, 1955.

<sup>4</sup>Bloch, B. and Trager, G.L. opY cit.

<sup>5</sup>Bloomfield, L. Language, New York 1933, p.228.

<sup>6</sup>Jespersen, O. A Modern English Grammar, p.35.

<sup>7</sup>Hill, L.A. "Compounds and the Practical Teacher" ELT. Vol. XI. No. 1. 1957.



stress, we should have to refuse the name of compound to a large group of two-linked phrases that are generally called so, such as headmaster, and stonewall".<sup>1</sup> The other problems are:

- (i) that it is difficult to ascertain with certainty whether a compound has level or unity stress;
- (ii) that there are variations of pronunciation from 'model' to 'model'.<sup>2</sup>

Hill's arguments are that:

- (a) the stress patterns ' \_ and ' \_ are not enough;
- (b) the pattern, \_ ' occurs commonly and it is possible to say 'ice 'cream, 'ice \_cream, ice 'cream;
- (c) the differences between these three stress patterns are considerably more important in RP for intonation than for stress;
- (d) the stress can shift for emphasis or contrast or for rhythmical reasons.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jespersen, O. A Modern English Grammar, p.35.

<sup>2</sup>Some British linguists, for instance, Halliday, think that it is possible to analyse compounding in BE on the basis of two stresses and the variation among the native speakers cannot be more than 1%.

<sup>3</sup>Hill op. cit. pp.14-15.

<sup>4</sup>Here it won't be out of place to mention how R.B. Lees in his The Grammar of English Nominalizations has treated English nominal compounds. It is not, really, an attempt to identify or classify the compounds. His treatment is as follows:  
(i) He makes a distinction between compound ( ' + ' ) and nominal phrase ( ^ + ' ). (This distinction is, again, based on stress pattern).

(ii) He takes up certain "compound types" for his study and classifies them according to grammatical relations in the kernel

13. 4.0. Even if the native speakers reaction - to the criteria of stress-would not be what it is, we have to seek another criteria for classification of IE compounds because:

- (i) the role of stress in IE is variable;
- (ii) the L1's of IE speakers on the whole are syllable timed languages and not stress timed languages;
- (iii) the corpus for analysis is from written IE text.

13. 5.0. We should, however, make it clear that the aim of this study is not to present a method for general classification of compounds in BE. We are adopting an arbitrary method to account for IE formations (compounds and collocations) and attempt to see whether a formal and/or contextual classification can establish the Indianness of these formations. Perhaps a classification which takes into account both these levels will be useful. The context has been taken into consideration since in most cases there are no formal deviations; the contextual deviation accounts for the 'unusualness' of the formation. (See 10.0.).

sentences underlying them which the compound reproduces.

(iii) The underlying grammatical relations, which are mirrored in the compounds are:

- (i) subject-predicate,
- (ii) subject-"middle object",
- (iii) subject-verb,
- (iv) subject-object,
- (v) verb-object,
- (vi) subject-prepositional object,
- (vii) verb-prepositional object,
- (viii) object-prepositional object,

and in many cases there are various sub-classifications. On this basis he formulates transformational rules.



13. 5.1. Formally we considered items as compounds if among other things they satisfied one or more of the following criteria:

- (i) if written with a hyphen;
- (ii) if written as one word;
- (iii) if contextually the meaning of the components is different from the lexical meaning of the two items.

13. 6.0. In IE the largest group of formations<sup>1</sup> are those where a syntactical unit of a higher rank has been used for, what should have been, a formation at the word rank in English. For instance, at places where a BE speaker/writer tends to use a group or a clause an IE speaker/writer, in many cases, would use a unit of a lower rank. Thus many formations of NQ (and N) type are reduced to endocentric formations of NN or AN type.

13. 6.1. Another important point here is that forms which are register restricted<sup>2</sup> in BE are used without such limitations in IE.

13. 6.2. In changing the unit - or perhaps 'downgrading'<sup>3</sup> it-

<sup>1</sup>In the following classification certain formations have been included in more than one group if they fulfil the criteria of that group too.

<sup>2</sup>A register restricted form is one which is acceptable in a specialized register, and would not be accepted in common speech or writing, for example, dying declaration may be used in a legal document but not in non-legal registers.

<sup>3</sup>In A. Hill's terminology "downgrading consists in a reduction of status, for instance, from that of independent sentence to that of a sentence element within a larger sentence." cf. his Introduction to Linguistic Structures p.357. In our sense it is only reduction of rank and has no theoretical status in relation with analysis of a language.

naturally, the order of the components also is changed. For example,

<u>an address of welcome</u>	<u>welcome address</u> (IE 4.8.58)
<u>a bunch of keys</u>	<u>key bunch</u> (AD 178)
<u>a box of matches</u>	<u>match box</u> <sup>1</sup>
<u>lady from the mission</u>	<u>mission-lady</u>
<u>strength of class</u>	<u>roll-strength</u>

13. 6.3. It is difficult to be dogmatic about the cases of 'downgrading' as some of the following formations might not be regarded by all BE speakers as one of 'downgrading', e.g. caste-proud might be regarded simply as collocational and contextually IE, though formally equivalent to such an item as house-proud.

13. 6.4. The formations of this type are listed below:

<u>caste dinner</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>dining-leaf</u> <sup>10</sup>
- <u>elders</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>drink-evil</u> <sup>11</sup>
- <u>group</u> <sup>4</sup>	<u>dung-cakes</u> <sup>12</sup>
- <u>mark</u> <sup>5</sup>	<u>eating-leaf</u> <sup>13</sup>
- <u>proud</u> <sup>6</sup>	<u>England-returned</u> <sup>14</sup>
- <u>sanctity</u> <sup>7</sup>	<u>forehead marking</u> <sup>15</sup>
<u>city-chap</u> <sup>8</sup>	<u>God-love</u> <sup>16</sup>
<u>corpse-heaps</u> <sup>9</sup>	<u>monsoon-wet</u> <sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In BE match box is used for a box without matches, in IE it is substituted for, what would be in BE, a box of matches.

<sup>2</sup>caste-dinner: ... and there are marriages and deaths and



nail-bed<sup>18</sup>sleep-warm<sup>25</sup>nose-screw<sup>19</sup>spirit-food<sup>26</sup>piece-cloth<sup>20</sup>tear-sick<sup>27</sup>plough-pair<sup>21</sup>tongue-clever<sup>28</sup>sage-loved<sup>22</sup>waist-chain<sup>29</sup>salt-giver<sup>23</sup>- thread<sup>30</sup>shoe-shower<sup>24</sup>well-pot<sup>31</sup>welcome address<sup>32</sup>

festivals and caste dinners (Kanth 89).

<sup>3</sup>caste-elders: Old Brindawan had cried to a gathering of caste-elders. (He Who 17).

<sup>4</sup>caste-group: Lekha used to worry whenever there was a wedding in their caste-group. (He Who 30)

<sup>5</sup>caste-mark: an elaborate caste-mark on his forehead and an exalted expression. (RH 204)

<sup>6</sup>caste-proud: You deceive not only the caste-proud people but your own blood. (He Who 17)

<sup>7</sup>caste-sanctity: good to think of people like him committing sacrilege and desecrating their caste sanctity. (He Who 55)

<sup>8</sup>city-chap: what if you pick a fancy for some smart-like city chap. (SMH 81)

<sup>9</sup>corpse-heaps: barricades lay on the streets like corpse-heaps. (C in B 178)

<sup>10</sup>dining-leaf: she pulled a dining leaf out of a bundle in the kitchen rock. (WM 84)

<sup>11</sup>drink-evil: He emphasised the role of women in eradicating the drink-evil. (BJ 7.6.59)

<sup>12</sup>dung-cakes: I have seen your women for ever making dung-cakes and burning them and smearing their huts. (N in S 47)

<sup>13</sup>eating-leaf: and they were seated at their eating-leaves. (Kanth 57)

<sup>14</sup>England-returned: "... though still vividly bearing the England-returned stamp." On the analogy of England-returned, now the formation America-returned also is used, see F of F p.105: "And the Diwan's America-returned son is certainly no blessing to him."

<sup>15</sup>forehead-marking: ...and looked about for a little water for making a paste for his forehead-marking. (M&S 206)

<sup>16</sup>God-love: ...he will teach us the true religion of God-love which is the best swaraj. (Un 205)

<sup>17</sup>monsoon-wet: The dying ones who lay huddled on monsoon-wet pavements. (SMH 93)

<sup>18</sup>nail-bed: clothes didn't make the man, the real man, the interior sadhu on his private nail-bed. (DD 55)

<sup>19</sup>nose-screw: ... and the only jewels she had was a diamond

13. 6.5. Whitworth<sup>1</sup> has referred to such formations as "wrong compounds"<sup>2</sup> and gives the reason that the Indians are following the process of analogy of Sanskrit tatpuruṣa compounds, like deva-putra, meaning "a son of god" and transfer it as god-son. This, as he rightly writes, may also result from loan-shifts, for example, bride-price from kanya-sulkam.<sup>3</sup>

nose-screw. (N in S 10)

<sup>20</sup>piece-cloth: haven't you got your piece-cloth under your dhoti. (WM 166)

<sup>21</sup>plough-pair: how would he ever turn his earth with his plough-pair. (SMH 98)

<sup>22</sup>sage-loved: you gave her the sage-loved Himalayas on the North. (Kanth 27)

<sup>23</sup>salt-giver: so you are a trailer to your salt-givers! (Kanth 32)

<sup>24</sup>shoe-shower: give them a shoe-shower! (Kanth 131)

<sup>25</sup>sleep-warm: Her body thirsted for the pool, for its softness on her sleep-warm limbs as she floated with ease. (MM 140)

<sup>26</sup>spirit-food: A Brahmin - alone can serve his spirit-food. (He Who 45) In BE the formation would be 'acceptable' as spiritual-food.

<sup>27</sup>tear-sick: ...and saw her face tear sick. (SMH 180)

<sup>28</sup>tongue-clever: tongue-clever! am I not your elder. (MM 11)

<sup>29</sup>waist-chain: A silver waist-chain I ask from the ocean of learning. (MM 73)

<sup>30</sup>waist-thread: She took care not to break the red strands on his 'waist-thread', the village child's protection from evil. (He Who 190)

<sup>31</sup>well-pot: "Hey, little man!" he called out, "where is the well-pot". (FE 10)

<sup>32</sup>welcome address: He accused the vice-president of the local board who read the welcome address. (NH 6.6.59)

<sup>1</sup>Whitworth, G.C. Indian English. An examination of the errors of idiom made by Indians in writing English. Lahore, 1932.

<sup>2</sup>ibid p.224.

<sup>3</sup>ibid p.225; he has also given the following interesting formations, which he found in IE texts:

state subjects; government member; sandalwood pieces; bride-price; bridegroom price; English-educated; England-goers; foreign-travelled; teacups; grape-bunches; grass blades.

See ibid pp.224-227.



13. 7.0. In 5. 11.9. we have referred to 'uncommon' collocations, that is, the 'deviation' of the range of the collocability of a collocate with other items. A collocate, in this case, would be a lexical item which is 'in focus' in a particular text.

13. 7.1. The following are deviations at the lexical level, since in this case the difference in IE is that of the lexical sets which operate in the structure of a collocation. This deviation may be explained as: 'uncommon' collocation and 'normal' grammar.

<u>barber-women</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>cousin-sister</u> <sup>14</sup>
- <u>fellow</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>cousin-brother</u> <sup>15</sup>
<u>bath-fire</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>cow-dung cakes</u> <sup>16</sup>
- <u>milk</u> <sup>4</sup>	<u>cow-worship</u> <sup>17</sup>
<u>black-money</u> <sup>5</sup>	<u>dancing-girl</u> <sup>18</sup>
<u>bodice-cloth</u> <sup>6</sup>	<u>death-drums</u> <sup>19</sup>
<u>boss-people</u> <sup>7</sup>	<u>dream-monk</u> <sup>20</sup>
<u>city-crier</u> <sup>8</sup>	<u>dung wash</u> <sup>21</sup>
- <u>hair</u> <sup>9</sup>	- <u>basket</u> <sup>22</sup>
- <u>chatter</u> <sup>10</sup>	- <u>cake</u> <sup>23</sup>
- <u>nonsense</u> <sup>11</sup>	<u>dust-filmed</u> <sup>24</sup>
- <u>books</u> <sup>12</sup>	<u>dusk-goddess</u> <sup>25</sup>
- <u>ways</u> <sup>13</sup>	<u>earth-life</u> <sup>26</sup>
	<u>eye-friendship</u> <sup>27</sup>

<sup>1</sup>barber-women: so spoke the barber-women some months before Mohini's arrival. (MM 131)

<sup>2</sup>barber-fellow: To sit still, draped in a sheet, while the

rape-sister<sup>1</sup>- mother<sup>2</sup>salt-march<sup>3</sup>saucer-lamp<sup>4</sup>salt-giver<sup>5</sup>sage-loved<sup>6</sup>schooling ceremony<sup>7</sup>serpent worship<sup>8</sup>shoe-shower<sup>9</sup>snake-cult<sup>10</sup>- worship<sup>11</sup>sister-sleeper<sup>12</sup>string-bed<sup>13</sup>sweeper-man<sup>14</sup>tea-glasses<sup>15</sup>tear-sick<sup>16</sup>three-eyed<sup>17</sup>twice-born<sup>18</sup>village-crier<sup>19</sup>waist-thread<sup>20</sup>wind-car<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup>rape-sister: sala - elephant. rape-sister. (BH 46)

<sup>2</sup>rape-mother: There is that rape-mother channa. (BH 22)

<sup>3</sup>salt-march: Our newspapers had described it as the greatest single spur to India's independence movement since Gandhi's famous salt-march. (RH 36)

<sup>4</sup>saucer-lamp: Hari's wife was waiting for him, mending rags by the pale glimmer of an earthen saucer-lamp. (C 207)

<sup>5</sup>salt-giver: Kanth 32.

<sup>6</sup>sage-loved: Kanth 27.

<sup>7</sup>schooling ceremony: Babu's schooling ceremony is tomorrow morning. (FE 106)

<sup>8</sup>serpent worship: Kāshmira was one of the principal centres of serpent worship in India. (Early Hist. and C. of K 140)

<sup>9</sup>shoe-shower: Give them a shoe-shower. (Kanth 131)

<sup>10</sup>snake-cult: The snake-cult or Nāga-worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period. (Early Hist. and C. of K 140)

<sup>11</sup>snake-worship: There is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period. (ibid. 140)

<sup>12</sup>sister-sleeper: I'll floor the incestuous sister-sleeper. (V of G 130)

<sup>13</sup>string-bed: But the string bed, suspended from the shopdoor like a hammock, was empty. (BH 24)

<sup>14</sup>sweeper-man: ... give the sweeper man an anna. (C 191)

<sup>15</sup>tea-glasses: everybody ate more than they wanted and the tea-glasses were constantly full. (RH 164)

<sup>16</sup>tear-sick: and saw her face tear-sick. (SMH 180)

<sup>17</sup>three-eyed: May the Three-eyed Siva protect us. (Kanth 209)

<sup>18</sup>twice-born: ... and from that moment he is a Twice-born. (He Who 45)

<sup>19</sup>village-crier:

<sup>20</sup>waist-thread: She took care not to break the red strands of his waist-thread, the village child's protection from evil. (He Who 190)

<sup>21</sup>wind-car: "Her father, may be, owns a wind-car." (MM 103)



- barber-fellow did things to your head. (SMH 37)
- 3 bath-fire: ... and in a year's time Bhatta can have someone to light his bath-fire at last. (Kanth 45)
- 4 bath-milk: I am anxious about tonight's bath-milk. (He Who 130)
- 5 black-money: ... and he had more than a hundred thousand rupees of black money in the locker of his bank! (1001 Nights 43)
- 6 bodice-cloth: ... and we shall offer you saris and bodice-cloth for every birth and marriage. (Kanth 15)
- 7 boss-people: the boss-people scorn us because they fear us. (He Who 41)
- 8 city-crier: He looked up and saw a city-crier. (C 135)
- 9 city-hair: he neither smoked nor grew city-hair. (Kanth 55)
- 10 city-chatter: "What is all this city-chatter about?" (Kanth 41)
- 11 city-nonsense: ... I want to hear about Rama and Krishna and Mahadeva and not all this city-nonsense. (Kanth 26)
- 12 city-books: but he had city ways, read city books. (Kanth 18)
- 13 city-ways: (ibid p.18).
- 14 cousin-sister: poor cousin-sister is so upset. (RH 29)
- 15 cousin-brother: and that she had nothing to fear from me as I was her cousin-brother-one-womb removed. (F of F 131)
- 16 cow-dung cakes: No cow-dung cakes for kindling - the eyes stream as the mouth blows and blows on the poor fuel. (SMH 113)
- 17 cow-worship: Even your Guru Buba Nanak, ... failed to get them off idol worship, cow worship... (V of G 122)
- 18 dancing-girl: ...not a woman of the streets, really, but a member of the dancing-girl community. (RH 166)
- 19 death-drums: formal processions, death drums (C in B 142)
- 20 dream-monk: But on his way out, as he passed the pillars which that dream monk had been working on... (1001 Nights 148)
- 21 dung-wash: Bare, beaten floor of baked mud, hardened with dung-wash. (N in S 181)
- 22 dung basket: ...his stick in his hand and the dung basket on his head. (Kanth 32)
- 23 dung-cake: A woman had her hands full at home, threshing the harvest, sun-baking the grain, drying dung-cake. (SMH 68)
- 24 dust-filmed: ...pouring the water on Rahoul's dust-filmed feet. (SMH 87)
- 25 dusk-goddess: ...hailing the dusk-goddess as she had been hailed. (SMH 117)
- 26 earth-life: ...end my earth-life before my husband's. (He Who 179)
- 27 eye-friendship: ...and if you do not start an eye-friendship immediately you may not get the opportunity again. (B of A 64)

13. 8.0. The formations in which one component itself may be a compound have been termed "recursive" formations. By "recursive" we mean that one of the elements of the compound word is itself a compound word; the relation of the parts is the same in the two successive items of compounding so the components enter into a recursive relation, as in aircraft carrier. In this type of compound in IE we find two types of deviation (i) collocational (as in rice initiation ceremony, SMH 30) and (ii) formal (as in lying-in-room<sup>1</sup>).

brother-anointing ceremony<sup>2</sup>

inter-district criminals<sup>6</sup>

cottage like industry<sup>3</sup>

ill-boding widow<sup>7</sup>

haircutting ceremony<sup>4</sup>

inter-caste unions<sup>8</sup>

higher-income group<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This is used in the sense of a bed-room, i.e. "Kunal taps at the door of the lying-in-room at night. (SMH 8)

<sup>2</sup>brother-anointing ceremony: Four months after, on the occasion of the Brother-anointing ceremony. (He Who 160)

<sup>3</sup>cottage like industry: Development of this essential, almost cottage like industry will not only help the industry.. (HS 15.6.59)

<sup>4</sup>Hair cutting ceremony: ... Suramma had bought for her son's hair cutting ceremony (Kanth 56)

<sup>5</sup>Higher-income groups: But pioneering will have to be done by higher-income groups. (BJ 7.6.59)

<sup>6</sup>inter-district criminals: Two inter-district criminals have been put into arrest. (SL 6.6.59)

<sup>7</sup>ill-boding widow: So, you are jealous, you ill-boding widow! (C of B 16)

<sup>8</sup>inter-caste unions: Inter-caste unions were not rare in the cities. (MM 190)



low housing scheme<sup>1</sup>

rice-eating ceremony<sup>7</sup>

long tongued pedlars<sup>2</sup>

saffron-touched paper<sup>8</sup>

lotus leaf cup<sup>3</sup>

second highest caste<sup>9</sup>

nine-stranded thread<sup>4</sup>

seventh-month ceremony<sup>10</sup>

red paste trident<sup>5</sup>

thousand-and-eight flames

rice-initiation ceremony<sup>6</sup>

ceremony<sup>11</sup>

village gate goddess<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup>low housing scheme: ... and distributing it to the landless people under low housing scheme. (P 10.6.59)

<sup>2</sup>long tongued pedlars: At noon the pedlars came, long tongued pedlars proclaiming... (MM 23)

<sup>3</sup>lotus leaf cup: The lotus leaf cup in one hand, lamp in the other. (SMH 168)

<sup>4</sup>nine-stranded thread: Also called sacred thread used by Hindus; cf. That white, nine-stranded thread shall gleam across your chest. (He Who 45)

<sup>5</sup>red paste trident: ... was adorned with a red paste trident. (He Who 98)

<sup>6</sup>rice-initiation ceremony: And on the day of baby's rice-initiation ceremony. (SMH 30)

<sup>7</sup>rice-eating ceremony: She said "the rice-eating ceremony of the child, well it will be when Moorthy is our guest." (Kanth 171)

<sup>8</sup>saffron-touched paper: Jayarama Iyer stood up and read the saffron-touched paper which announced that... (B of A 174)

<sup>9</sup>second highest caste: cf. (BH 47)

<sup>10</sup>seventh-month ceremony: ... and the whole village is to be invited for the seventh-month ceremony. (Kanth 37)

<sup>11</sup>thousand-and-eight flames ceremony: She would have a thousand-and-eight flames ceremony performed. (Kanth 142)

<sup>12</sup>village gate goddess: Mother, and we shall make it bright, and have a pandal and have the camphor lighted to the village gate goddess. (Kanth 171)

13. 9.0. The formations may further be classified<sup>1</sup> according to their structures, that is, whether they are endocentric or exocentric. The endocentric formations are those which can be accounted for within the nominal group structure (without rank-shift). They may be sub-grouped as:

1. Those formations in which the first item is functioning as a modifier: e.g.

<u>caste-dinner</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> 85)	<u>dining-leaf</u> ( <u>WB</u> 84)
<u>city-chap</u> ( <u>SMH</u> 8)	<u>eating-leaf</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> 57)
<u>corpse-heaps</u> ( <u>C in B</u> 178)	

2. Those formations which have two items and both the items function as H in an NG.

<u>barber-women</u> ( <u>MM</u> 131)	<u>cousin-sister</u> ( <u>RH</u> 29)
<u>boss-people</u> ( <u>He Who</u> 41)	<u>cousin-brother</u> ( <u>F of F</u> 131)

3. Those formations which have two items and both the items function at M position in an NG:

<u>happy sad</u> ( <u>SMH</u> 106)	<u>sour-sweet</u> ( <u>RH</u> )
------------------------------------	---------------------------------

13. 9.1. The exocentric constructions have been sub-grouped according to the "kernel item". By a kernel item we mean any item of higher rank from which the compound can be derived.

For instance, the kernel item of cow-eater would be ← (one)

who eats a cow ← he eats a cow; or for jewel wombed ← (one)

<sup>1</sup>This classification includes only a few formations from the complete list of IE formations included in this chapter.



who has a womb like a jewel; jewel faced ← (one) who has a face like a jewel.

This group is of "predicator-complement" type: e.g. alms-taker; here the kernel item would be (one) who takes alms ← he takes alms. Some more formations of this type are given below:

bangle-seller<sup>1</sup>

ear-cleaner<sup>6</sup>

bangle-vendor<sup>2</sup>

mail carrier<sup>7</sup>

cash-keeper<sup>3</sup>

rag-seller<sup>8</sup>

cow-eater<sup>4</sup>

water-carrier<sup>9</sup>

city crier<sup>5</sup>

13. 9.2. In certain cases BE prefixes and suffixes are used to form compounds for Indian contexts. In such items there is, in fact, no formal deviation; the Indianness, however, lies in their being contextually determined.

<sup>1</sup>bangle-seller: Hey, hey, bangle-seller, show me your wares. (MM 57)

<sup>2</sup>bangle-vendor: I had a sudden, clear picture of the bangle-vendor squatting in courtyard. (RH 185)

<sup>3</sup>cash-keeper: She was my cash-keeper. (ET 37)

<sup>4</sup>cow-eater: An innocent maiden being led astray by a lecherous cow-eater? (V of G 124)

<sup>5</sup>city crier: He looked up and saw a city crier. (C 135)

<sup>6</sup>ear-cleaner: This item does not refer to an instrument for cleaning ears, but a person who cleans ears. cf. "A voice sounded not twenty yards away, "ear-cleaner, ear-cleaner." " (MM 59)

<sup>7</sup>mail carrier: The mail carrier had stepped off the boulder down below long ago on his return journey. (WM 120)

<sup>8</sup>rag-seller: For the other items he had gone down to the rag-seller's shop in the town. (Un 10)

<sup>9</sup>water carrier: There lived the scavengers... the water carriers. (Un 9)

These formations may be divided into two:

1. Prefix and a Noun:

inter-, interdine, intermarriage, (MM 111).

inter marry (HS 15.6.59)

sub-, sub-caste (AD 10)

2. Suffix and Noun or Adverb:

-less, casteless (He Who 203)

13. 10.0. A large number of IE formations (even if they are collocationally and grammatically in a BE pattern) are Indian in the sense that, at the contextual level, such formations function in IE contextual sectors and would, perhaps, be 'unintelligible' to an English L1 speaker/writer. An English L1-speaker's reaction may perhaps be "well, I could use such a formation, if I had a parallel CS."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A parallel of this linguistic situation is found in America and Australia, where the English speaking settlers had to coin a large number of words to name the local contextual items, which gave birth to such forms as friar-bird, frogs-month, groundlark, thousand-jacket, etc. See Morris E.E. Austral English (160). Also Mencken/American Language for the Americanisms. In India the situation was however different. It was not a group of new settlers using their L1 in a new country, it is the L2 being used by the natives in their own contexts. (The early English travellers borrowed a number of Indian words and hybrid forms, but most of the IE formations (hybrid or non-hybrid) were 'coined' by the Indians themselves.)



The CS's would include:

1. material objects.
2. flora-fauna.
3. social/religious/political systems.
4. the relationship between different castes and religious groups (cf. chapter 15).
5. speech-functions. (cf. chapter 14).
6. other social roles. (cf. chapter 16).

A few examples (non-hybrid forms only) of such contextually restricted formations are given below, and detailed statements about them have been made in relevant sections.

alms-bowl<sup>1</sup>

alms-taker<sup>2</sup>

ankle-bells<sup>3</sup>

anklet-bells<sup>4</sup>

ash-marks<sup>5</sup>

bamboo stretcher<sup>6</sup>

bangle-man<sup>7</sup>

bangle-seller<sup>8</sup>

bangled-widow<sup>9</sup>

barber-women<sup>10</sup>

bath-fire<sup>11</sup>

bath-milk<sup>12</sup>

bed-rolls<sup>13</sup>

bedding-rolls<sup>14</sup>

betel-bag<sup>15</sup>

betel-case<sup>16</sup>

betel-woman<sup>17</sup>

black-money<sup>18</sup>

blessing-ceremony<sup>19</sup>

bridal-bath<sup>20</sup>

bride-showing<sup>21</sup>

brother-anointing ceremony<sup>22</sup>

bullock-proof<sup>23</sup>

burning-ground<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup>alms-bowl: Your alms-bowl will fill up in no time. (He Who 44)

<sup>2</sup>alms-taker: They reminded him of the alms-takers huddled at

a temple entrance. (Mr.S 154)

3 ankle-bells: A girl opened her bundle and tied the ankle-bells round her ankles. (TP 37)

4 anklet-bells: ... her anklet-bells ringing as she walked. (1001 Nights 50)

5 ash-marks: A fine thing, too, it is, you with your broad ash-marks and your queer son and his ways. (Kanth 65)

6 bamboo stretcher: A bamboo stretcher is ready on the ground. (ET 95)

7 bangle-man: ... and he stopped humming for the sole purpose of beating down the bangle-man. (S of D 13)

8 bangle-seller: (MM 57)

9 bangled-widow: showing social attitude towards a widow in Hindu society: "What, to that bangled-widow? She will lead us all to prostitution." (Kanth 233)

10 barber-women: So spoke the barber-women some months before Mohini's arrival. (MM 131)

11 bath-fire: ... and in a year's time Bhatta can have someone to light his bath-fire. (Kanth 45)

12 bath-milk: Restricted to ceremonies in temples. (He Who 130)

13 bed-rolls: ... spare bed-rolls and pillows and mats were pulled out... (FE 57)

14 bedding-rolls: He dumped the bedding-roll opposite the toilet and sat on top of it. (DD 191)

15 betel-bag: He opened his betel-bag... (Kanth 31)

16 betel-case: She then opened her betel-case and made herself two betel leaves. (V of G 20)

17 betel-woman: The betel-woman knew human nature. (SMH 158)

18 black-money: ... and he had more than a hundred thousand rupees of black-money in the locker. (1001 Nights 43)

19 blessing-ceremony: ... a jolly good blessing-ceremony in the choicest of words. (Kanth 64)

20 bridal-bath: A social custom. Yet this was not the day of days but the one before, set for the bridal-bath... (MM 68)

21 bride-showing: A social custom. They came at dusk, the traditional bride-showing hour. (MM 48)

22 brother-anointing ceremony: A festival celebrated by Hindus. (He Who 160)

23 bullock-proof: Behind it the door stood, burglar- and bullock-proof. (DD 5)

24 burning-ground: The funeral which took place at the Ranital burning grounds... Hit. 28.12.59.



car-festival<sup>1</sup>dung-washed<sup>10</sup>cart-man<sup>2</sup>ear-cleaner<sup>11</sup>ceremonial fire<sup>3</sup>eating leaves<sup>12</sup>cook-woman<sup>4</sup>fair-cart<sup>13</sup>cowdung cakes<sup>5</sup>flower-bed<sup>14</sup>cow-worship<sup>6</sup>forbidden meat<sup>15</sup>dining-leaf<sup>7</sup>forehead marking<sup>16</sup>dung-basket<sup>8</sup>haircutting ceremony<sup>17</sup>dung-cakes<sup>9</sup>invitation rice<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup>car-festival: ... and the car-festival, during which period the deities come out of the temple. (OR 15.7.59)

<sup>2</sup>cart-man: ... and the last voice we hear is that of the cart-man who sings through the hollows of the night. (Kanth 13)

<sup>3</sup>ceremonial fire: to whom he was not married according to the sacred custom of four gyrations round the ceremonial fire. (BH 33)

<sup>4</sup>cook-woman: She was Bindu, daughter of the cook-woman, who had grown old... (MM 15)

<sup>5</sup>cowdung cakes: No cowdung cakes for kindling... (SMH 113)

<sup>6</sup>cow-worship: (V of G 122)

<sup>7</sup>dining-leaf: She pulled a dining-leaf out of a bundle in the kitchen rack. (WM 84)

<sup>8</sup>dung-basket: ... his stick in his hand and the dung-basket on his head. (Kanth 32)

<sup>9</sup>dung-cakes: I have seen your women for ever making dung-cakes and burning them. (N in S 47)

<sup>10</sup>dung-washed: And there on the dung-washed porch of a mud-walled hut... (S of D 121)

<sup>11</sup>ear-cleaner: (MM 59)

<sup>12</sup>eating leaves: and they were seated at their eating leaves. (Kanth 57)

<sup>13</sup>fair-cart: ... and not even a fair-cart ever passed through. (Kanth 217)

<sup>14</sup>flower-bed: I was pregnant within a month of my Flower-bed.. (MM 105)

<sup>15</sup>forbidden meat: Heeralal knowing the caste injunctions... would not touch the forbidden meat. (MM 31)

<sup>16</sup>forehead marking: (Mr. S. 206)

<sup>17</sup>haircutting ceremony: (Kanth 56)

<sup>18</sup>invitation rice: In the evening the invitation rice is sent. (Kanth 173)

<u>leaf-bag</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>nine-stranded thread</u> <sup>10</sup>
<u>leaf-plate</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>nose-screw</u> <sup>11</sup>
<u>leaf-pot</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>oil-monger</u> <sup>12</sup>
<u>marriage-drums</u> <sup>4</sup>	<u>procession-throne</u> <sup>13</sup>
<u>marriage festival</u> <sup>5</sup>	<u>red-paste trident</u> <sup>14</sup>
<u>marriage-month</u> <sup>6</sup>	<u>reed-mat</u> <sup>15</sup>
<u>marriage-music</u> <sup>7</sup>	<u>rice-eating ceremony</u> <sup>16</sup>
<u>marriage season</u> <sup>8</sup>	<u>rice-initiation ceremony</u> <sup>17</sup>
<u>milk-bath</u> <sup>9</sup>	<u>rope-cot</u> <sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup>leaf bag: A bag made of leaves. cf. When only one cream cake lay in the leaf bag in his hand he felt thirsty. (C 149)

<sup>2</sup>leaf-plate: A plate made of leaves. cf. Your leaf-plate.

<sup>3</sup>leaf-pot: ... outside which were more hill women engaged in making leaf-pots. (C 66)

<sup>4</sup>marriage-drums: Feel it perhaps in parched earth and howling jungle, in the marriage-drums of the sea's far-off thunder. (DD 29)

<sup>5</sup>marriage festival: Not since the great day of the marriage festival. (SMH 17)

<sup>6</sup>marriage-month: The marriage month of June went by, and Kit had yet to choose his bride. (SIF 50)

<sup>7</sup>marriage-music: The the marriage-music, stilled all those minutes, began again. (SIF 73)

<sup>8</sup>marriage season: ... although in a couple of months the marriage season will be on... (FE 122)

<sup>9</sup>milk-bath: Restricted to a religious register: "I will make a milk-bath offering to the deity. (He Who 124)

<sup>10</sup>nine-stranded thread: That white, nine-stranded thread shall gleam across your chest. (He Who 45)

<sup>11</sup>nose-screw: ... and the only jewel she had was a diamond nose-screw. (He Who 95)

<sup>12</sup>oil-monger: Vegetable sellers, oil mongers... everyone seemed to have a right to talk to him as they pleased.

<sup>13</sup>procession-throne: And should after should changed beneath the procession-throne. (Kanth 243)

<sup>14</sup>red-paste trident: Restricted to religious register. (cf. SMH 30)

<sup>15</sup>reed-mat: He picked up a reed mat. (He Who 71)

<sup>16</sup>rice-eating ceremony: (cf. Kanth 171)

<sup>17</sup>rice-initiation ceremony: (cf. SMH 30)

<sup>18</sup>rope-cot: He was furnished with a rope cot and a mat and had no door. (WM 241)



sacred ash<sup>1</sup>separate eating<sup>8</sup>sacred-lamp<sup>2</sup>schooling ceremony<sup>9</sup>sacred-thread<sup>3</sup>serpent-worship<sup>10</sup>sacred paste<sup>4</sup>seventh-month ceremony<sup>11</sup>sacred tuft<sup>5</sup>sitting-planks<sup>12</sup>sacred fan<sup>6</sup>snake-cult<sup>13</sup>saucer-lamp<sup>7</sup>snake-worship<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup>sacred ash: his forehead smeared with red vermilion and a splash of sacred ash. (FE 52)

<sup>2</sup>sacred-lamp: only the child's eyes were visible, gleaming in the sacred-lamps. (FE 31)

<sup>3</sup>sacred-thread: twined the sacred-thread behind his left ear and disappeared behind a bush. (V of G 122)

<sup>4</sup>sacred paste: she dipped her little finger in the sacred paste. (MM 182)

<sup>5</sup>sacred tuft: Among them there were demons with beards and demons with sacred tufts. (1001 Nights 142)

<sup>6</sup>sacred fan: "sister, let me hold the torch, sister, let me hold the sacred fan." (Kanth 243)

<sup>7</sup>saucer-lamp: Hari's wife was waiting for him, mending rags by the pale glimmer of an earthen saucer-lamp. (C 207)

<sup>8</sup>separate eating: Restricted to social register. cf. (Kanth 51)

<sup>9</sup>schooling ceremony: Babu's schooling ceremony is tomorrow morning. (FE 106)

<sup>10</sup>serpent-worship: Restricted to religious register. (cf. Early Hist. and C. of K. 140)

<sup>11</sup>seventh-month ceremony: cf. (Kanth 37)

<sup>12</sup>sitting-planks: Put on the sitting planks. (Mr. S 53)

<sup>13</sup>snake-cult: cf. (Early Hist. and C. of K. 140)

<sup>14</sup>snake-worship: cf. ibid.

tenant-farmer<sup>1</sup>village-gate goddess<sup>7</sup>thousand-and-eightwaist-chain<sup>8</sup>flames ceremony<sup>2</sup>well-pot<sup>9</sup>turmeric-ceremony<sup>3</sup>wedding bangles<sup>10</sup>tuft-knot<sup>4</sup>- house<sup>11</sup>upper-cloth<sup>5</sup>wrist-bands<sup>12</sup>village-elders<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>tenant-farmer: ... and married me to a tenant-farmer who was poor in everything but in love. (N in S 11)

<sup>2</sup>thousand-and-eight flames ceremony: See (Kanth 142)

<sup>3</sup>turmeric-ceremony: Yet this was not the day of days but the one before, set for the bridal-bath, the turmeric-ceremony as it was called. (MM 70)

<sup>4</sup>tuft-knot: from their necks to the tips of their ritual tuft knots. (C 180)

<sup>5</sup>upper-cloth: ... and he had also a couple of dhotis and upper cloth. (AD 223)

<sup>6</sup>village-elders: The village elders have received a shock and go about with bowed heads. (MM 133)

<sup>7</sup>village-gate goddess: (MM 171)

<sup>8</sup>waist-chain: "A silver waist-chain I ask from the ocean of learning." (MM 73)

<sup>9</sup>well-pot: (FE 10)

<sup>10</sup>wedding bangles: I promised my wedding bangles if they recovered. (RH 158)

<sup>11</sup>wedding house: ... like an eminent guest in a wedding house. (FE 49)

<sup>12</sup>wrist-bands: (1001 Nights 152)



13. 11.0. In some formations in IE, one component is common, and they have a common structure, we have termed such items OSW (cf. 12. 2.4.). Contextually they have characteristics of a lexical set (cf. 12. 2.3.) and formally of an OSW.

In this section we have reclassified these as OSW's. By treating them as OSW's we are not excluding the possibility of their being Lexical Sets. These two are not, in fact, mutually exclusive.

13. 11.1. The following sub-classification should help us to understand their function in OS's. For instance, let us take the OSW with the item city. The set comprises the following members: city crier, city hair, city chatter, city nonsense, city books, city ways. This set has contextual implications (except in case of city crier), when an Indian villager uses it in IEW. The formations may be used as items showing 'attitude' or 'evaluation': used for a person who being a city dweller has ceased to respect his religion and tradition.

The OSW's are listed below:

alms bowl, -taker.

barber-woman, -fellow.

bangle-seller, -vendor.

bath milk, -fire.

betel bag, -case, -woman.

cousin-sister, -brother.

cowdung cakes, -eater, -worship.

dung wash, -basket, -cake.

leaf bag, -plate, -pot.

marriage drums, -festival, -mark, -month, -music.

rape-sister, -daughter, -mother.

rice-initiation ceremony, -eating ceremony.

sacred ash, -fan, -lamp, -paste, -thread, -tuft.

waist thread, -band.

wedding bangle, -house.



## 14. SPEECH-FUNCTIONS IN INDIAN ENGLISH

14. 1.0. A text may provide us with one or more of the following types of contextual data about which linguistic statements can be made:

- (i) text of attitudes; e.g., modes of address/reference, blessings, flattery, etc.;
- (ii) text of status and social positions : superiority/inferiority, e.g. language in caste system;
- (iii) text of social roles<sup>1</sup>, e.g. rituals, ceremonies, etc.;
- (iv) text of individual habits (which are not socially determined).

14. 1.1. The formal exponents of all these can be in a narrative or in direct speech. The above (i) has been termed "speech functions"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Our attempt to discuss language according to functions and 'social' or 'individual' roles would, perhaps, not be in conformity with "structural linguistics", as the term is understood by some American linguists. (We are, however, using this term in a different sense. (cf. 9.2.1.f.n) See. J. Whatmough, Language : A Modern Synthesis, 1956, p.105.

"Structural linguistics is content with the description of language and language types. It explicitly and deliberately excludes the consideration..... of the part language has played, for good and for evil, in human affairs, how it works, its virtues and its findings. It is barely interested in the social conformity of ordinary discourse, and not at all in the refinements, both individual and social, of linguistic non-conformity as it appears in scientific or public discourse." (our underlining). This extremism in 'structuralism' (whatever it means in Whatmough's sense) in our view distorts the 'real' operation of language in life.

<sup>2</sup>These, however, overlap with (ii) and (iii) also. In certain cases only (i) may be made the basis for abstraction of SF. Firth has used the term 'speech-functions' in his work, but there is no suggestion about the specific use and its distinction from RLs.

(Abb. SF). As discussed earlier (cf. 5. 5.0) the SF have been abstracted on the basis that:

- (i) they reveal attitude;
- (ii) they are repetitive;
- (iii) they mark one as a 'member' or 'non-member' of a language-community.

14. 2.0. In Mitchell's terms<sup>1</sup> linguistic statements can be based on either: (1) a large number of relatively short texts correlating with a variety of contexts; or (2) a limited number of contexts for which the verbal material is considerable. In our data we have the situation of the first type.

14. 2.1. These speech functions are differentiated from one another by the "idiom" they use. The defining-context<sup>2</sup> in this case is the socio-cultural setting of India. The nonce-forms of IE constitute a different idiom which is perhaps "unconventional" for BE and American English, but relevant and essential for the Indian context.

14. 2.2. In relating the two levels, i.e., the formal and the contextual in a language type, we have to establish certain (a) situational and (b) contextual features in which the text functions. The "meaning" of the "speech-function" of a language type is not clear unless it is viewed in the 'actual' situation.

14. 2.3. The first step then is, as it were, to recreate the non-linguistic environment. From the situational data we abstract the 'variables' or CPs; these are the relevant definable contextual features for a speech event. (cf. 8. 2.0.)

<sup>1</sup>Mitchell, T. F. "The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: A Situational Statement." Hesperis 1957, p.4 (34).

<sup>2</sup>Hockett, C. F. Op. cit. Idiom-Formation, For Roman Jakobson. p.233.



An illustration will perhaps make this clear. We have abstracted the following four speech-functions from the IE texts:

- (1) Abuses/curses.
- (2) Greetings.
- (3) Blessings, prayers, flattery.
- (4) Modes of address/modes of reference.

For contextualization we had to place the four texts broadly in the general context of culture. In relation with the context of culture we have then delimited the text according to the Contextual Sectors (cf. 8. 2.0.) in which they operate. The division into CSs implies that certain variables have been used as distinctive for each speech function.

14. 2.4. Let us take the speech function of abuses/curses. This has the following CIs which are essential for the "comprehension" of the IE text at the contextual level.

- (1) Geographical location;
- (2) Id of the writer;
- (3) Age of the participants;
- (4) Status/position, i.e. economic status;
- (5) Position in the caste hierarchy;
- (6) Sex;
- (7) Religion;
- (8) Speaker/addressee relation.

14. 2.5. By geographical location we mean localization of a text in terms of the north of India or the south of India. This is the first broad division. If we establish that the text is written in the north of India we have to localize it, say the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or Bengal. This is important because the item eater of your masters (C.18) is common only in the Punjab. We have found

this only in an IE text written by a Punjabi LI speaker. This links LI with the geographical location.

The abuse eater of your masters (C.18) and would that you had died in my womb (He who, 195) show that in the first the position and the status of the participants are involved, i.e. master/servant relation<sup>1</sup>; the text also shows that eater of your masters is a feminine abuse, i.e. it is spoken by a female; this further restricts the participants. The second abuse involves the relationship of mother/child.

Keep to the side of the road, you low caste vermin (UN, 39) involves two persons, a caste Hindu and a low caste person. The religion is important since one person has to be a Hindu; even the geographical location of the text can be guessed. You circumcised son of a pig (DD, 202) can flare up Hindu-Muslim discord if used for a Muslim. May thy womb be dead (He who, 212), for obvious, reasons is limited to women addressees.

14. 3.0. In greetings we have the following CPs:

- (1) Location;
- (2) Social status;
- (3) Position in caste hierarchy;
- (4) Religion;
- (5) Relation between speaker/addressee;
- (6) Age.

In the above (5), we have distinguished in greetings between wife/husband and the greetings used by prostitutes and sycophants. Bow

<sup>1</sup>Contextually this is the most probable use of this item, but in certain cases it is used as an abuse by parents to children.



my forehead (C.14), touch your feet (UN. ), how at your feet (He who, 8), fall at thy feet (SMH, 17), are determined by the position of the person who is greeted - in the caste or social hierarchy.

14. 3.1. In blessings the participants are essential CPs in determining the language-features of a text. Thou shalt write from an inkwell of gold (TP ) and let the sindur mark ever trace the parting in your hair (MM, 99) are contextually determined. In both illustrations two persons are involved: (a) an officer with authority, and (b) an unsophisticated woman seeking favour.

In the second case it is a young bride getting blessings. For one ink-well is significant as a mark of authority, and for the other sindur-mark is a sign of happy married life.

14. 4.0. The modes of address/modes of reference are perhaps more susceptible to structuring. To convey the exact context often the lexical items of kinship terms, affection, etc., are borrowed from Lls. We have accounted for the modes of address and modes of reference under the following CPs:

- (1) Profession;
- (2) Caste;
- (3) Religion;
- (4) Speaker/addressee relation.

14. 5.0. The data for the speech-functions has been further classified as follows:

- I. Abuses and Curses: (Abb. AC) Subdivisions ;
  1. AC from master to servants.
  2. AC from parents to children.
  3. AC addressed to women only.

<sup>1</sup>The AC from upper caste to lower caste have been discussed in

4. AC used by men to men.
5. AC mostly used by women.
6. AC between two religious groups.
7. AC between shopkeepers/clients.
8. AC to ones own self.
9. AC showing (a) repentance, (b) friendship, (c) intimacy, (d) affection.
10. AC for threat and challenge.
11. AC used by officers for criminals.
12. AC of jealousy.
13. AC of neutral type (as to participants).

14. 5.1. II. Greetings: Subdivisions :

1. Greetings addressed to elders and upper-class.
2. Greetings addressed to persons of equal status, but elders.
3. Greetings addressed to superiors in status (officer/subordinate).
4. Greetings according to the religion of the participants.
5. Greetings used by prostitutes/sycophants.

14. 5.2. III. Blessings/Prayers: Subdivisions :

1. Superiority/inferiority relation.
2. Maternal/paternal.
3. Tradesmen.
4. Wife/husband.
5. Relatives to bride/bridegroom.



14. 5.3. IV. Modes of address/Modes of reference:

Subdivisions

1. Superiority/inferiority.
2. Professional.
3. Caste/religion.
4. Kinship.
5. Flattery/affection.
6. Neutral.

14. 6.0. Abuses and curses:<sup>1</sup> The speech-function of AC has been treated as speech-events determined by (i) the context of culture; (ii) the contextual sectors. The contextual sectors are distinguished from one another on the basis of the participants. These formal items are characteristic of IE and would, we presume, be different in other cultures and other varieties of the English language.

14. 6.1. AC from masters to servants:

1. You eater of your masters! Strange servant you are that you fall asleep before the sunset. (C. 18)
2. Or at least eat your food before you sleep, if sleep to death you must. (C. 18)
3. You spoiler of my salt. (Un. )
4. Vay, you eater of your masters! Vay you shameless brute! You pig! You dog! (C. 20)
5. May you die! May your liver burn! May you fade away! You of the evil star! (C. 16)
6. Vay, you shameless, shameless, vulgar, stupid hillboy! (C.20).

<sup>1</sup>The sub-classifications, however, are not always mutually exclusive.

7. May you die! May you fade away! May you burn! (C. 20)
  8. "Son of concubine" "Son of a widow" "I'll sleep with your wife" "You donkey's husband" "Brother, stop there" "No, not till I've poured my shoe-water through his throat." (Kanth )
  9. He, chenna,.... you had better go to the big field and see whether those sons of concubines are planting well.
  10. ... do you hear, you goose-faced minion! (Kanth 31)
14. 6.2. AC from parents to children:
1. You have eaten my life. (C. )
  2. May the witches come and devour you. (C. 24)
  3. Would that you had died in my womb. (He who, 159)
  4. Would that I had throttled you at the moment of your birth. (He who, 159)
  5. Why did I rear a serpent with the milk of my breast. (He who, 159)
  6. Don't eat my head. (C. 22)
  7. Oh, be patient, you dead one! (C. 24)
  8. When you are married off I shall drink a seer of frothing warm milk, you widow! (S & R)
14. 6.3. AC addressed to women only:
1. Eater of my child.... witch-woman in holy clothes.... may thine eyes go blind. (He who, 212)
  2. May thy womb be dead. May thy limbs rot and drop off. May thy blood freeze. I curse thee, eater of my child. (He who, 212)



3. Ari, you bitch! What are you laughing at, slut? Aren't you ashamed of showing your teeth to me in the presence of men, you prostitute! (Un )
  4. Think of it! Think of it! You bitch! You prostitute! Wanton!'... Think of laughing at me who am old enough to be your mother. Bitch. (Un )
  5. Oh, you prostitute of a wind! She is showing her tricks again. (Kanth 170)
  6. Ah, you widows, you will not even lick the remnant leaves in the dustbin, you polluted widow. (Kanth 124)
  7. ...go and lie with a licking male dog. (C of B)
14. 6.4. AC used by men to men:
1. ...the incestuous sister sleeper. (V of G 13)
  2. You lover of your mother. (C.119)
  3. You seducer of your daughter. (C.104)
  4. You seducer of your sister. (C.119)
  5. As for the babu, for all we care he can sleep with his mother. (TP 144)
  6. ...that incestuous lover of your sister! (TP 25)
  7. ...that penis of a pig who sleeps with his mother, pimps for his sister and daughter.... (TP 144)
14. 6.5. AC mostly used by women:
1. May the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence. (C.20)
  2. May you never rest in peace, neither you nor your antecedents. (C.78)
  3. Hai! Hai! May you die! May you never live! May the fire of your ovens consume you! (C.78)

4. You cock-eyed son of a bow-legged scorpion! (Un 38)
5. Munoo, Oh Munooa, Oh Mundo! Where have you died. Where have you drifted! You of the evil star! (C.5)
6. Are you a heartless demon? How can you beat such a child? ....Only those who bear the child for ten months in the womb know how precious it is. (FE 42)

1 14. 6.6. AC between two religious communities:<sup>1</sup>

1. You circumcised son of a pig. (DD 202)
2. Sons of a pig. (C.226)
3. What are we to do with all those pigs we have with us? They have been eating our salt for generations and see what they have done! We have treated them like our own brothers. They have behaved like snakes. (TP 144)
4. An innocent maiden being led astray by a lecherous cow eater. (V of G, 124)

14. 6.7. AC between shopkeepers/clients:

1. What do you think I am! How dare you come again without cost? You think you can do me in? You are mistaken. I can swallow ten of you at the same time! (WM )

14. 6.8. AC to ones own self:

1. I am a leper if there is a lie in anything I say. (AD 54)
2. What else can I know, a poor ignorant hag like me! Do I read the newspapers? Do I listen to lectures? Am I told what is what by anyone? (WM 83)

<sup>1</sup>By religious communities we mean the ACs used by Hindus/Muslims/Sikhs in India for each other. In No.1 the adjectival use of circumcised and the noun pig indicate that the reference is to Muslim and the speaker is a Hindu/Sikh. The phrases you swine, you pig, convey speaker's moral attitude in the English society. In the Indian society reference to pig in certain contexts implies: (i) a Hindu or a Sikh participant; (ii) a Muslim participant, and what is more important, (iii) a religious insult.



3. "What will people say?" "Look at that brute of a father. Big, hulky, like an elephant, and he won't give his child enough to eat." Will that please you ...  
(He Who 14)

4. We are the scum of the earth. The boss people scorn us because they fear us. (He Who 73)

5. May my limbs get paralysed and my tongue dumb and my progeny for ever destroyed. (Kanth.)

14. 6.9. AC showing (i) repentance; (ii) friendship; (iii) intimacy; (iv) affection; (v) consolation:

1. I wonder what he did! Father of Fathers! I could kill that man. (Un )

2. The slap on my face! The coward! How he ran away, like a dog with his tail between his legs. (Un )

3. That child! That liar! Let me come across him one day.  
(Un )

4. You are too sharp-tongued", he replied, "It is a wonder they tolerate you here, where peace and kindness must be practised." (WM 57)

5. Brother-in-law, you are lucky. (Un )

6. Come, obey, brother-in-law, greeted Ramcharan. (Un )

7. Don't buk buk, Obey brother-in-law, said Bakha good-humouredly. (Un )

8. Give, obey brother-in-law, give us some of the sweets, said Chota. (Un )

9. "What is the matter with you, brother-in-law?" he asked.  
(Un )

10. You are more of a gentleman than I am, and look at the brother-in-law today, he is wearing a sahib's topee and shorts. (Un )

14. 6.10. AC for threat and challenge:

1. That incestuous lover of your sister! I've told him a thousand times this was no time for dacoities....  
( TP 25)
2. What seducer of his mother can throw bangles at me.  
(TP 72)
3. A word more from the filth-dropping tongue.... a word more, witch, and I will bash in your mouth. (SMH 115)
4. "What do you say, you vile humbug?"  
"What do I care who the sone of a mongrel is?"  
"I will thrash you with my slippers", said Rajam Iyer.  
"I will pulp you down with an old rotten sandal", came the reply. (AD 54)
5. This to rape your mother. This your sister. This your daughter. This for your mother again. (TP 138)
6. "If anyone raises his eyebrow at you we will rape his mother."  
"Mother, sister and daughter", added the others. (TP 144)
7. That penis of a pig who sleeps with his mother, pimps for his sister and daughter, if he puts his feet in Mano Majra I will stick my bamboo pole up his behind.  
(TP 186)
8. "If I don't spit on his bottom, my name is not Juggat Singh." He rubbed his mouth with the back of his hand.  
(TP 187)
9. "If I do not spit in Malli's mouth, my name is not Juggat Singh." This time Juggat Singh spat on his own hand and rubbed it on his thigh. His temper rose to fever heat. (TP 187)



10. "If it had not been for your policemen in their uniforms, I would like to meet the father of a son who could dare to bat an eyelid before Juggat Singh."  
(TP 187)
11. He raised a clenched fist in the air and shook it at the receding train. "Sons of swine, beasts and devils!"  
(He Who 31)
12. "If only I could give him thirty good strokes with a broomstick..." "I have heard some talk that man is foul, loathsome." "Keep your distance from that serpent..." (He Who 58)
13. "Trick me, would you? A whet of a girl, born yesterday! Vomiting like a sick dog! I will tame you even if I have to break twenty bones in your body."  
(He Who )
14. ...a crocodile in loin cloth. (He Who 217)
15. I should have told him... you none of a cuttersnine... Don't I know what your father was. (He Who )
16. You earth-worm! Things have come to this, have they, when every earth-worm pretends that it is a cobra and tries to swing its head... I will nip off your head as well as your tail, if you start any of your tricks with me. (FE 18)
17. If you serve the Evil thing and eat its polluted salt you sell your very soul. You sell your mother and sister for the salt. (SMH 85)
18. ..."who is there?" "Why, your wife's lover, you son of my woman." (Kanth. )

14. 6.12. Abuses in jealousy (man-woman relationship):

1. Look at the wench. Look at her pile of books. She has one for each day of year, it seems. Her stomach holds more learning than you. (He Who 93)
2. "Has strong new marrow grown in the hollow of your dried-up bones? You think I have not watched you eyeing the wench? I am not dead yet. I can twist her neck with these two hands."  
"Shiva! Shiva!" cried the helpless man. "What has she done to you?" "You rush to defend her. So! All decency has gone from you! Call yourself a priest with so filthy a heart? The sacred thread is blackened by the sweat of your pores. The temple air is fouled by your breath. (He Who 93-94)

12  
14. 6.13. AC of neutral type (neutral as to participants):

1. Be careful, you will be beheaded when Britain leaves India. (WM 104)
2. We curse you. We curse your dear ones. We curse your butcher masters. May you too burn like that; nah, may you, too, and your masters stand by and see your lives burn like that. We curse you all. (SMH 51)
3. They told us nothing. And didn't you see how that pig's penis spoke to Chacha? (TP 99)
4. He'd deserve it if he was run over, this heartless blackguard. (AD 50)
5. "You are a filthy brute", said Rajam Iyer. (AD )
6. "You heartless devil! You will never get at him again." (AD 50)



7. Hey, pull up your cart and listen. Don't talk like a baby. You are old enough to know what you are talking about. (WM 106)

8. Butchers, butchers, dung-eating curs. (Kanth 220)

9. He, shut up, you son of my woman. (Kanth 129)

#### 14. 7.0. Lexico-grammatical Analysis:

From a restricted corpus of AC in IE, the following lexical sets have been abstracted:

Lexical Set	Members
1. Animals/Birds	<u>bitch/bitches</u> , <u>dog</u> , <u>pig</u> , <u>swine</u> , <u>scorpion</u> , <u>snake</u> , <u>vermin</u> .
2. Attitudes	<u>good-humouredly</u> , <u>unmindful</u> , <u>careless</u> , <u>irresponsible</u> , <u>poor</u> .
3. Abstract	<u>existence</u> , <u>patience</u> , <u>temper</u> , <u>life</u> , <u>evil</u> .
4. Colour	<u>red</u> .
5. Evaluation	<u>brute</u> , <u>coward</u> , <u>circumcised</u> , <u>decoit</u> , <u>drinker</u> , <u>gentleman</u> , <u>illegally begotten</u> , <u>ignorant</u> , <u>incestuous</u> , <u>liar</u> , <u>lover</u> , <u>pimps</u> , <u>rogue</u> , <u>wanton</u> , <u>witch</u> , <u>prostitute</u> , <u>seducer</u> , <u>scoundrel</u> , <u>spoiler</u> , <u>slut</u> , <u>shameless</u> , <u>stupid</u> .
6. Excretion/ Reproduction	<u>dung</u> , <u>latrine</u> , <u>penis</u> , <u>rectum</u> , <u>rape</u> , <u>urine</u> .
7. Kinship	<u>brother-in-law</u> , <u>daughter</u> , <u>mother</u> , <u>sister</u> .
8. Motion/Action	<u>announce</u> , <u>annoy</u> , <u>approach</u> , <u>bumped</u> , <u>devour</u> , <u>eat</u> , <u>fadeaway</u> , <u>float</u> , <u>got up</u> , <u>laugh</u> , <u>slap</u> .
9. Ominous	<u>burn</u> , <u>die</u> , <u>death</u> , <u>eater</u> , <u>kill</u> , <u>fire</u> .
10. Objects	<u>bangles</u> , <u>bamboo</u> , <u>chillies</u> , <u>ovens</u> , <u>pole</u> , <u>salt</u> , <u>shorts</u> , <u>star</u> , <u>vessels</u> .
11. Superiority/ Inferiority	<u>servants</u> , <u>hill-boy</u> , <u>low-caste</u> , <u>masters</u> .

## 14. 7.1. TABLE OF COLLOCATIONS (Uninterrupted)

1. N.P. Appositional:


---

Item	followed by
<u>You:</u>	<u>bitch</u> , <u>brute</u> , <u>dog</u> , <u>eater</u> , <u>filth</u> , <u>filthy</u> , <u>orphan</u> , <u>prostitute</u> , <u>seducer</u> , <u>spoiler</u> , <u>slut</u> , <u>scum</u> , <u>wretch</u> ..

---

2. Attribute + Head:


---

Item	Followed by
<u>circumcised</u>	<u>pig</u>
<u>shameless</u>	<u>brute</u> , <u>hill boy</u>
<u>vulgar</u>	<u>hill boy</u>
<u>stupid</u>	<u>hill boy</u>
<u>low caste</u>	<u>vermin</u>
<u>dirty</u>	<u>dog</u>
<u>careless</u>	<u>swine</u>
<u>irresponsible</u>	<u>swine</u>
<u>cock-eyed</u>	<u>son</u>
<u>evil</u>	<u>star</u>
<u>poor</u>	<u>hag</u>
<u>ignorant</u>	<u>hag</u>
<u>incestuous</u>	<u>lover</u>
<u>strange</u>	<u>servant</u>

---

3. Noun + Verb:


---

<u>witches</u>	<u>devour</u>
<u>ovens</u>	<u>consume</u>
<u>liver</u>	<u>burn</u>

---



14. 8.0. Greetings: The speech function of greetings has two dimensions in Indian society: (i) it can be studied in the horizontal dimension, e.g. varying with different regions; and (ii) in the vertical social hierarchy.

14. 8.1. There is no single greeting that could be generalised as the national greeting of India. It varies with the province and the social status of the person/persons. If there can be a comparative description of gestures, we could perhaps say, a Western handshake is paralleled in the Indian cultural context by the folding of hands, which is, by and large, universal in Indian Hindu society. It is a non-verbal exponent, the distribution of which is restricted by many social factors.

14. 8.2. The greetings are repetitive events in the social process, limited to a particular group of people. The greetings changes with the change of participant/participants, their social position, sex. We could broadly sub-divide the greetings into:

- I) Greetings for elders and so-called upper class;
- II) Greetings for persons of equal status but elders;
- III) Greetings for superiors in status;
- IV) Greetings used by prostitutes/sycophants.

14. 9.1. Greetings for elders and so-called upper class/ superiority:

- 1. bow my forehead (C. 14)
- 2. I bow at his feet. I lick the dust of road on which he passes. (SMH 70)
- 3. fall at your feet (C. 16)
- 4. touch your feet (Un )

5. I bow at your feet (He Who 8)

6. We fall at thy feet (SMH 17)

14. 9.2. Greetings for persons of equal status but elders:

1. Jay-deva (C. 126)<sup>1</sup>

2. Long live the Gods! (C. 14)

14. 9.3. Greetings for superiors in status:

1. Salaam, Huzoor (TP)<sup>2</sup>

2. "Well, Inspector Sahib, how are things?"

The sub-inspector joined his hands. "God is merciful,  
We only pray for your kindness." (TP 29)

14. 9.4. Greetings used by prostitutes/syconhants:

1. Welcome! My eyes have gone blind looking at the way  
along which you were to come to grace my house. (C.202)

2. "You are most welcome to this humble abode of mine,  
great sire," he said in confusion. (WM 45)

3. "Since you have blessed my hovel with the good dust  
of your feet, will you not sit down a moment and drink  
the cold water of a coconut?" Girish hurried to fetch  
a floor mat. (SMH 55)

14.10.0. Further points to note about the greetings are:

1. In different social relations, e.g. master/servant, age/youth,  
a greeting does not evoke the same echo response as in the English  
society, e.g., good morning = good morning. In IE it can be:

"Salam, Havaladarji."

"Come, ohe, Bakhia, how are you." (Un )

<sup>1</sup>In certain contexts, in some parts of India, items like Ram, Ram,  
are used as exponents of greetings among the Hindus. Many illustrations  
of such items are found in IE texts.

<sup>2</sup>Also Salaam, Jinab may be used.



2. The verbal exponents have other non-verbal cues which help us to put the text in the proper C of S. The greeting of sub-class (i) has joining hands, dusting his feet, etc. These are used in servant/master relation. But in the greetings of sub-class (ii), the folded hands are the exponents of the same social position but the participant - who is greeted - is elder in age.

3. The exponents of caste, occupation, religion, further restrict the context, e.g.

"Ram, Ram, Panditji."

"I touch your feet, Panditji."

10. 11.0. Greetings can be preceded or followed by nouns denoting (i) caste, (ii) profession, (iii) religion, (iv) sex, (v) kinship, of the participant/participants. This may further be followed by an honorific suffix ji or zero.

TABLE SHOWING MARKERS WITH GREETINGS IN IE

Caste	Profession	Religion	Kinship <sup>1</sup>
<u>Pandit</u>	<u>Babu</u>	<u>Khawaja</u>	<u>Brother-in-law</u>
<u>Thakur</u>	<u>Havaldar!</u>	<u>Sardar</u>	<u>Mother</u>
<u>Jamadar</u>	<u>Inspector</u>		<u>Sister</u>
			<u>Grandmother</u>
			<u>Father</u>

<sup>1</sup>The items listed in Kinship system have extended meanings in IE and may be used as terms of respect, superiority, regard, or, as in case of brother-in-law, as a term of abuse or intimacy. (cf. 14. 14.5.)

## 14. 11.1. TABLE SHOWING LEXICAL SETS IN GREETINGS.

LS	Members
1. <u>Allusions</u>	<u>Ram,</u>
2. <u>Evaluation</u>	<u>merciful, humble, kindness, great,</u> <u>grace, respectful.</u>
3. <u>Motion</u>	<u>bow, fall, touch, joined, protect.</u>
4. <u>Position/status</u>	<u>havaladar, Pandit, Guru, Gods.</u>

14. 12.0. Blessings/Prayers/Flattery: This speech function has been sub-divided into:

1. Inferiority/superiority relation.
2. Maternal/paternal.
3. Tradesmen.
4. Wife/husband.
5. Relations to bride/bridegroom.
6. Neutral (as to participants).

14. 12.1. Inferiority/superiority relation:

1. May your fame and honour increase. May your pen write figures of thousands and hundreds of thousands. (TP 37)
2. May your government go on for ever. May your pen inscribe figures of thousands - nay, hundreds of thousands. (TP 106)
3. Bhagwan will pour his bounties aplenty on thee! Thou shalt write from an inkwell of gold. Thou shalt live a hundred years and become a king. (TP )
4. draw a hundred lines on earth with the tip of my nose. (C. )
5. Your shoe and my head. (Un )



6. beat me on my head till I go bald. (C. )
7. My life is not worth the sandals of my own. (C. )
8. ....shall be your slave all my life. (C. )
9. Maharaj, you are my father and mother. (Un. )
10. Oh, Mother, Mother, forgive us, I join my hands to you. I will fall at your feet. (C. )
11. You are a dispenser of good. O Maharaj, we are all lickens of your feet.... (Kanth 78)
12. Your humble servant. I lick your feet. (Kanth 47)
13. As you like, says the lickens of your feet. (Kanth 46)
14. 12.2. Maternal/paternal:
  1. May I be your sacrifice. (C. 93)
  2. May I die for you. (C. 93)
  3. May I suffer instead of you. (C. 93)
  4. Let bright days come upon them. If they are guilty of wrongs in past lives, let me alone work it off. Let me drag suffering from life to life. (SMH 170)
14. 12.3. Tradesmen:
  1. Let the price of gold go high and yet higher. I will make a milk-bath offering to the deity now and another next month, so my wish may be fulfilled. (He Who 124)
14. 12.4. Wife/husband:
  1. End my earth-life before my husband's. God in heaven, that is all I ask of you. (He Who 179)
14. 12.5. Relations to bride/bridgroom:
  1. Enter thy husband's home with all lucky omens. Care

for his servants and for his cattle. May thine eyes  
be ever without anger. Care for the happiness of thy  
husband. May thine beauty be bright, thy mind full  
good cheers. (MM 73)

2. O, Indra, King of all the Gods, let this lady be the  
mother of heroic sons. (MM. 73)

3. Be fulfilled - by your husband, by the children to  
come. (MM 78)

4. Let the sindur mark ever trace the parting in your  
hair. (MM 99)

5. Would you expect less from our little mother's groom?  
A scion of noble ancestors: Be wealthier still. Be  
the father of little gods. (MM 78)

6. Daughter, let the scrawl of destiny be ever in your  
mind. Eighteen months are gone, time hurries by.  
Let the gift of motherhood soon be yours, soon. (MM 172)

14. 12.6. Neutral as to participants:

1. May you live! (Un. )



14. 13.0. The difference of lexis in the speech function of abuses/curses and blessings/prayers/flattery is interesting. The lexical items following the personal pronoun I and You in the two speech functions are shown in the following table:

Speech function of Abuses/curses		Speech function of Blessings/prayers/flattery	
<u>I</u> + the following items	<u>You</u> + the following item	<u>I</u> + the following item	<u>You</u> + the following item
<u>swallow</u>	<u>orphan</u> , <u>rogue</u> ,	<u>sacrifice</u>	<u>live</u> , <u>fame</u> ,
<u>hag</u>	<u>bitch</u> , <u>vermin</u> , <u>brute</u> ,	<u>die</u>	<u>honour</u> ,
<u>poor</u>	<u>lowcaste</u> , <u>pig</u> , <u>swine</u> ,	<u>suffer</u>	<u>write figures of</u>
<u>ignorant</u>	<u>dog</u> , <u>annoy</u> , <u>wretch</u> ,	<u>proud</u>	<u>thousands</u> ,
<u>wonder</u>	<u>scum</u> , <u>illegally-</u>		<u>government go for</u>
<u>kill</u>	<u>begotten</u> , <u>wanton</u> ,		<u>ever</u> ,
<u>rape</u>	<u>filth</u> , <u>lover</u> ,		<u>pen inscribe -</u>
<u>stick</u>	<u>seducer</u> , <u>cock-eyed</u> ,		<u>figures of thousands</u>
<u>spit</u>	<u>eater</u> , <u>circumcised</u>		<u>bless</u>
	<u>(son)</u> , <u>spoiler</u> ,		
	<u>sharp-tongued</u> , <u>slut</u> ,		
	<u>brother-in-law</u> ,		
	<u>prostitute</u> , <u>die</u> , <u>fade</u>		
	<u>away</u> , <u>burn</u> .		

#### 14. 13.1. Collocations Interrupted:

N + N		V + N	
1.	<u>lines</u> : <u>nose</u>	<u>beat</u> : <u>bald</u>	
	<u>shoes</u> : <u>head</u>	<u>fall</u> : <u>feet</u>	
	<u>slave</u> : <u>life</u>	<u>join</u> : <u>hands</u>	
	<u>life</u> : <u>sandals</u>	<u>draw</u> : <u>lines</u>	
2.	<u>draw hundred lines...</u> <u>with the tip of nose</u>		
	<u>your shoe...</u> <u>my head</u>		

14. 14.0. Modes of Reference/Modes of Address: Modes of reference and modes of address are essentially determined by the system of L1 and the social pattern in which that system functions. A term which is restricted to kinship system of a language may be used with extended meaning in another culture and transferred with a contextual sector in L2. If that use of the term is foreign to C2 it creates ambiguity and contextual unintelligibility.

14. 14.1. The system of modes of reference/modes of address has been transferred to IE in the following manner:

- I) Superiority/inferiority.
- II) Professional
- III) Caste/Religion
- IV) Kinship
- V) Neutral
- VI) Flattery/affection.

14. 14.2. Inferiority/superiority:

Cherisher of the poor: "Cherisher of the poor, what does your honour fancy?" (TP 37)

King of pearls: "King of pearls, you can say what you like, but this time I am innocent."

Government: "Government, she knows nothing about drink. She is hardly sixteen and completely innocent." (TP 40)

The word government is used for any person representing official authority, i.e., one who is a symbol of the government. This is transfer of Hindustani sarkar into IE.

Huzoor: "Would huzoor like to sleep on the verandah?" (TP 99)



Ma-bap : "The Government are just and bounteous;  
they are your ma-bap (mother-father)."  
 (SMH 48)

Friend of the poor: "Take care of yourself, friend of the  
poor." (S of J 238)

14. 14.3. Professional:

Inspector Sahib : "Come along, inspector sahib", said  
Hukum Chand. (TP 128)

Deputy Sahib : "The Deputy Sahib has already sent orders  
to all police stations to keep a look-  
out for Jugga." (TP 55)

Police wala : "Police wala, bad man, wild man, burn-  
face ape." (SMH 61)

Sometimes a person, especially pedlars, may be addressed by  
 naming the goods they are selling, e.g. -

Tooth-powder : "Hey, tooth-powder, come here, give me a  
packet." (FE 80)

14. 14.4. Caste/religion:

Pandit : "Hey, Pandit, can't you remain at peace  
with yourself for a moment." (FE 185)

14. 14.5. Kinship:

In IE the elements of English Kinship system are used  
 with extended meanings. Mother is a term of respect,  
sister of regard, and father-in-law of insult and  
 abuse. Bhai (brother) is used for any male of equal  
 age. Father for all elder persons and uncles may be  
 referred to as fathers.

- Mother : "Mother, a betel-leaf for you", she hailed.  
(SMH ) (It is a shopkeeper referring to a customer.)
- Father : "Father", said the old man as he held out his card... (SMH 165) (The person here addresses a social worker.)
- Sister : The coolie said: "Are you travelling alone, sister?"
- Brother : "No, I am with my master<sup>1</sup>, brother." (VQ 19)  
(A conversation between a traveller and a railway porter.)
- Mother of my daughter : "Oh, I say, the mother of my daughter" said the burra Babu, in the archaic convention of Indian family life. (C. 29)  
(In certain circles this is the normal mode of address or reference to one's wife.)
- He : He is an element in the closed system of kinship terms when referring to one's husband.  
In orthodox circles a lady is not expected to refer to her husband by name. One always refers to he, e.g. - "He, now in jail house, would not have eaten." (SMH 90)<sup>2</sup>

#### 14. 14.6. Flattery/affection:

- Jewel of jewels : You will hear the jewel of jewels, screaming. (SMH 1)

<sup>1</sup>Master is used as a mode of reference to husband by some Indian women.

<sup>2</sup>"He (You wouldn't speak your groom's name even in your heart, you said he)..." SMH 76



Mother-of-Onu : A woman in particular is referred to or addressed by naming her son, e.g.

mother-of-Onu:

"Why do you stick your eyes to my kitchen pot, mother-of-Onu?" (SMH 111)

Brother-in-law : a) Brother-in-law, you are lucky (Un.)  
b) Give, obey brother-in-law, give us some of the sweets, said Chota. (Un.)

14. 14.7. Neutral (as to participants):

Babu Sahib<sup>1</sup> : Where does your wealth reside, Babu Sahib?  
(TP 53)

Bhai : No, Bhai, no. If I knew, why would I not tell you? (TP 99)

Master<sup>2</sup> : a) "Yes, master, I do pay." (FE 4)  
b) "Do not take my boat, master, you have taken all. Spare this one, master."  
(SMH 48)

Dada (M) : "Dada, I am dead serious." (SMH 3)

Didi (F) : "Speak, didi, he moaned". (SMH 130)

Sab : The proprietor, a genial Bombay man, was a friend of his and cried: Ishwar sab,<sup>3</sup>  
the results were announced to-day. (AD 85)

<sup>1</sup>Spelt as babu or baboo. A term of respect used frequently in the north of India. In the south of India used for sir, My lord, Your honour. In the Offices it is usually used as a mode of address for a native clerk. cf. HJ p.44.

<sup>2</sup>More frequent in the south of India as a term of address.

<sup>3</sup>In the colloquial language sab is used as the weak form of sahib. It is equivalent to 'master' and is used without religious and 'status' restrictions when one wants to show respects. Originally it was used for Europeans.

14. 15.0. Pre-sentence attention-items in Modes of reference/  
address:<sup>1</sup>

Class	Masculine	Feminine	Neutral
I	Are Obey	Ari	Ay
II			Hey Oi

14. 15.1. The following hybrid compounds have been used in  
modes of reference/address:

Inspector sahib, babu sahib, deputy sahib, Minster  
Zamindar.

14. 15.2. Phrases: NN N + prep.p.

Cherisher of the poor, King of pearls, Mother of my  
daughter.

14. 15.3. BE lexical items with extended meaning:

brother-in-law, Government, he, mother, sister.

14. 15.4. Indian lexical items transferred to the system of  
Modes of address in IE:

Huzoor, bhai, sah, didi, dada, ma-ban.

14. 15.5. In the system of kinship terms in English the items  
sister or brother may be modified by markers of age, number or  
items like step, half, other, etc. In IE the English kinship  
system has been extended and items like cousin-sister, cousin-  
brother are used on the analogy of the kinship system in Ll and Cl.  
(cf. 9. 5.0.)

<sup>1</sup>A typical south Indian exclamation ayoo-ayoo is also found in some  
IEW by south Indians, see, for instance, (Kanth. 221)



14. 16.0. The purpose of the preceding sections was to show, what Firth would call, the function of L2 in different social institutions. We have attempted to bring out the Indian element from the 'repetitive' speech functions which are used in IEW. In literary terminology this may be termed 'local colour' in IEW.

15. 1.0. The differences between the dialects of the social groups and caste in some Indian languages have been described by Gumperz,<sup>1</sup> Bright<sup>2</sup> and MacCormack<sup>3</sup> at different levels. In India, these differences are not restricted to the caste or class stratification only: a study of the language of two religious communities, belonging to one language-group may also reveal significant differences.<sup>4</sup>

15. 1.1. In a linguistic investigation of IE, the study of register of caste system is relevant in the following senses:

- (i) the items of L1 have been transferred to L2;
- (ii) the components of L1's and L2 have been mixed or hybridized;
- (iii) the collocations of BE lexical items have been extended.

At the (inter) level of context we could, perhaps, say that in English context a contextual sector has been introduced in the English language which is foreign to C1 of English L1 speakers.

15. 1.2. This then is transfer at two levels, (i) the formal levels and (ii) the (inter) level of context. At the

<sup>1</sup>Gumperz, J. J. "Dialect differences and social stratification in a North Indian Village"; American Anthropologist, 60, 1958 pp. 668-82.

<sup>2</sup>Bright, William; "Linguistic change in some Indian Caste Dialects", "Linguistic diversity in South East Asia" IJAL (supplement) Vol. 26, No. 3, 1960.

<sup>3</sup>MacCormack, W. "Social dialects in Dharwar". *ibid.* pp. 79-91

<sup>4</sup>For instance, in Kashmir, the language as spoken in and around Srinagar, has two varieties, Hindu Kashmiri and Muslim Kashmiri. The distinction is mainly at the phonological and the lexical levels.



formal level it may be:

- (i) direct transfer of single L1 lexical items;<sup>1</sup> or
- (ii) rank-bound or rank-changed translation of L1 formal items.<sup>2</sup>

For an English C1 L1 speaker this may cause both contextual and formal unintelligibility while reading an IE text, or even in a BE text if he is not already aware of the existence of caste system in Indian society.<sup>3</sup>

In English dictionaries<sup>4</sup> and other literature, the term caste or caste system is restricted to a CS in Indian contexts, and refers to hereditary groups of Indians who are united with one religion, and exclude the members of other religions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>These would be termed 'Indian borrowings' in the register of the caste system.

<sup>2</sup>The terms rank-bound and rank changed have been discussed in chapter 11 (Lexico-grammatical Transference).

<sup>3</sup>Perhaps by now contextually the caste system is well known as an Indian social stratification; but the possibility of unintelligibility still applies to less known social customs.

<sup>4</sup>According to HJ the first reference to the caste system was made in 1444, when the early Portuguese travellers referred to this CS of India. The later English travellers retained this lexical item and by the end of the seventeenth century it had been well established in the Indian context. In the eighteenth century, with the spread of English in India and the growth of IE journalism, and creative literature, the <sup>1495</sup> of the caste system not only developed but it also became 'firm', and the caste collocations became normal for that CS. Also see OED p.160, "App. at first from Spanish"; but in its Indian application from the Portuguese, who had so applied it about the middle of the sixteenth century (Garcia, 1563). HJ gives first citation in 1444 (see p.171). In the earlier period the spelling also varied from cast to caste. Also see HJ p.170

<sup>5</sup>Thus the caste-hierarchy is the position of a group on the vertical scale, and the religious differences are on the horizontal scale between two socially mutually exclusive communities, for instance, the Hindus and the Muslims.

15. 1.3. The item caste or caste system is used in any of the following senses:

- (i) for reference to the hereditary classes of the Hindu society;<sup>1</sup>
- (ii) for reference to social grouping, in any culture, on the analogy of the Indian caste system;
- (iii) for reference to the sub-castes in any of the four castes mentioned in (i) (cf. footnote 1).

15. 2.0. In this study the formal exponents of the caste register are further grouped according to (i) social roles and (ii) speech functions. In (i) we have taken the items restricted to (a) low caste, (b) upper caste, (c) caste in business, (d) inter-caste relations, (e) caste in house-hold. In (ii) we have taken only one SF of abuses and curses. (For a detailed discussion cf. chapter 14 on Speech Functions).

15. 2.1. We have first taken the item caste and attempted to find its range of collocability with other items:

Items following "caste"

-brotherhood (BH 125),  
 -dinner (Kanth. 89),  
 -distinction (Un 210),  
 -domination (L 19.3.61)

Items preceding "caste"

high- (He Who 94),  
inter- (MM 190),  
low- (MM 168),  
lowest- (Un 35),

<sup>1</sup>The four main classes are Brāhmins, Ksatriya, Vaisya, and Sudrā. All Hindus belong to one of the four classes with the exception of children, ascetics, widows. (cf. A.C. Basham, The Wonder that was India, London, pp.137-187.



Items following "caste"

-elders (He Who 17),  
-feast,  
-feeling (Un 143),  
-following (L 19.3.61),  
-injunction,  
-less (Un 143),  
-mark (RH 204),  
-proud (He Who 171),  
-ridden,  
-sanctity (He Who 155),  
-well (Un 33),  
-union (MM 190),  
-vermin (Un 68),  
-waif (He Who 203).

Items preceding "caste"

out- (Un 39),  
professional- (MM 142),  
sub- (AD 10),  
upper- (Un 33),

15. 3.0. The following formal items have been abstracted in terms of caste hierarchy from the register of caste. These items include hybrid and non-hybrid forms, which are used as items of reference to objects, actions, marks, and the terms of address to any of the castes in IE. We have also included certain forms showing attitude, evaluation, or respect.

## 1. Upper Caste (The modes of reference)

high-born,

high-caste (He Who 94),

1. Upper Caste (The modes of reference)

twice-born<sup>1</sup> (Un 14),

uppercaste (Un 33).

2. The other items in the register of the caste system are:  
(restricted to upper caste):

brahminhood (S & R 20),

-street (Kanth 21),

brahminic thread (He Who 174), -section (S & R 50),

brahmin corner (Kanth 106),

forehead-marking (MRS. 206),

-guru (S & R 223),

nine-stranded thread (He Who 45),

-house (S & R 28),

holy brahmin (Kanth 179),

-priest (RH 106),

red paste trident (He Who 98),

-land (S & R 285),

sacred tufts (1001 Nights 192),

-quarter (Kanth 132),

-restaurant (SIF 161),

-brahmin (S & R 11),

-role (He Who 109)

saffron-robe (DD 139),

tuft knots (C 180).

3. Low Caste (The modes of reference)

casteless (Un 229),

low caste (Un 67),

lower class (C of B 9),

untouchable (Un 179).

<sup>1</sup>This item is a loan-shift from Sanskrit dvija. The three castes Brāhmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya are 'twice-born' in the sense that once they have their natural birth and again at their initiation, they are invested with the sacred thread, which is acceptance in the Caste, hence, re-birth. See Basham op. cit. p.138.



4. The other items are listed below:<sup>1</sup>

<u>anti-untouchable campaign</u> (IC 139),	<u>sudra lines</u> (Kanth 242),
<u>chamar woman</u> (He Who 107),	<u>-street</u> (Kanth 31),
<u>-people</u> (He Who 107),	<u>-women</u> (Kanth 24),
<u>paria children</u> (Kanth 225),	<u>-quarter</u> (Kanth 25),
<u>-girl</u> (Kanth 219),	<u>thathiar boy</u> (BH 121),
<u>-grandmother</u> (Kanth 219),	<u>-brotherhood</u> (BH 78),
<u>-kids</u> (Kanth 219),	<u>-conscience</u> (BH 30),
<u>-looking</u> (Kanth 242),	<u>-family</u> (BH 121),
<u>-mixer</u> (Kanth 63),	<u>-fraternity</u> (BH 121),
<u>-polluter</u> (Kanth 127),	<u>untouchable paria</u> (Kanth 178),
<u>-quarter</u> (Kanth 19),	<u>kasera brethren</u> (BH 122),
<u>-street</u> (Kanth 219),	<u>kamar girl</u> (He Who 17),
<u>-women</u> (Kanth 219),	<u>low thathiar</u> (BH 39).
<u>sudra corner</u> (Kanth 118),	

15. 3.1. The formations mentioned in 15. 3.0. include hybrid or non-hybrid formations which have at least one component which is well established in the Indian context (or is from an Indian language) hence helps us to contextualize the text. In some formations one component may be the item caste which is well-known in Indian context in the English language. The difficulty arises when items like defile, pollute, touch, are used contextually and collocationally in a

<sup>1</sup>The form kumkum mark (Kanth 159) could be treated as neutral in the sense that it is not, essentially, a marker of caste or class; for a long time it was a marker of the religion of the person.

different sense. We may, for example, take the following formations:

1. touched me and defiled me (Un 69), ..the defiled one (Un 71),  
defiled by contact (Un 106), defiled my house (Un 106),  
defiled my religion (Un 106), ..feet had become defiled  
(Un 120), defiling-distance (Un 154).
2. the touched-man (Un 197), touch-purify (Un   ), fear of  
touch (Un   ), untouchable (Un 77), touched the dust of his  
feet (Un 212), touched me and defiled me (Un 69), touched  
each other while dining (Un   ), touched our low-caste feet  
(Un   ).
3. polluting myself (Un   ), polluting kitchen (Un   ), fear  
of pollution (Un   ), pollution of progeny (K 51), our  
community polluted (K 72), pollute the food (K 93),  
polluting distance (Un 230).

In the above illustrations, the deviation is collocational and contextual.

15. 4.0. In this <sup>register</sup> certain items acquire a distinct meaning when placed in the CS of the caste system, otherwise formally there is no deviation from BE... The 'unintelligibility' of such items (for an English L1 speaker) is essentially contextual. Such items could, perhaps, be termed "contextual items" which operate in a contextual sector. A contextual item is an item of any grammatical rank which has "normal"



collocations, but at the contextual level it has specific meaning. For instance, let us take the following sentences:

- (i) "posh, keep away, posh, sweeper coming, posh, posh (Un)  
 (ii) "I, I'll....have to go....0....0....0....and get washed..  
 ..d....d....l....ll....was going to business and now....now..  
 ..on account of you'll be late....(Un ).

In (i) we have a "castewarning" that a low caste person is approaching. In (ii) a low caste person has 'touched' an upper caste person and the touch implies that the upper class person must have a wash. Another illustration makes it clearer.

"You've touched me" the Lalla said to Bakha, "I will have to bathe now and purify myself" (Un)

Again,

"Do you know you have touched me and defiled me." (Un)

The relation of touch between the two castes gives us collocations like a touched-man (Un).

15. 4.1. The attitude of a house-holder or a business-man is reflect<sup>ed</sup>/in the language and are contextually determined.

"Why did you sit down on my footstep? ....You have defiled my religion.... now I will have to sprinkle holy water all over the house! (Un)

In the shop-keeper-client relation we have caste-situations perhaps entirely unintelligible to an <sup>of English</sup> L1-speaker, i.e.

"He caught the jelebis which the confectioner threw at him like a cricket ball, placed four nickle coins on the shoe-board for the confectioner's assistant who stood ready to splash some water on them.<sup>1</sup> (Un) (our underlining).

15. 4.2. The underlined items then, are contextual items and unless they are related to the caste system, their meaning is not clear, though lexically, or grammatically, there is no unintelligibility.

15. 5.0. In chapter 14 on Speech-Functions in Indian English we have discussed the socially determined speech functions in detail, which include abuses/curses, blessings, greetings, modes of references/address. In this section we have taken only one example from the speech function of abuses and curses to illustrate how the caste system has determined the abuses and curses in IE.

A.C. from upper caste to lower caste:

1. Get up, oh you bakhya! You son of a pig. (Un )
2. Oh Bakhya! Oh Bakhya! Oh, you scoundrel of a sweeper's

<sup>1</sup>In this case the client is an untouchable and he cannot be touched by hand: hence 'jelebis' (sweets) are 'thrown' at him, and the money he gave also cannot be directly touched when it is in his hand. He leaves it on the shoe-board and an assistant 'washes' the coins before putting the money in the cash box.



son. (Un )

3. Casteless waif! Boy from the gutters! Dare you set eyes on a Brahmin's kitchen? You will pollute the food with your breath. Then I shall have to give it to dogs. (He Who 202)

4. Kepto the side of road, you low-caste vermin! (Un 39)

5. Why aren't the latrines clean, you rogue of a Bakhe!

6. Why don't you call, you swine, and announce your approach. (Un 39)

7. This dirty dog bumped right into me! So unmindful do these sons of bitches walk in the street. (Un 39)

8. Careless, irresponsible swine! They don't want to work! They ought to be wiped off the surface of the world. (Un)

9. You annoy me with your silence, you illegally begotten! (Un)

10. You eater of dung and drinker of urine. (Un )

11. He has made us eat filth... the shaitan out of hell pit... he has doomed us for suffering life after life... the evil thing in human shape. (He Who 229)

12. May their rotten carcasses be food for vultures. (He Who 229)

13 And our community will not be corrupted by such dirt-gobbling curs. (Kanth 64)

14. You always want to pollute the food of Brahmins with your evil tongues... (Kanth 93)

15. You dirty dragon! Go and sell yourself in a house of prostitution, you wretch, you devil! You witch, you donkey's kid, you bloody.... (C of a B)

15. 5.1. The qualifiers used with heads in nominal groups operating in the register of caste are interesting both for the collocability of the items and the context. We give a few examples here:

swine of a bania (C of a B 23), woman of a lower caste (C of a B 10), the confusion of caste (K 51), the pollution of progeny (K 51), mixing of castes (K 58), corruption of castes (K 137).

15. 6.0. As a study in preliminary quantitative method for classification of deviations in a variety of a language, we took one text<sup>1</sup> of an Indian English writer. A number of items (i.e. caste, defile, high, highest, low, lowest, out, pollute, touch, upper) were abstracted and the following study made.

- (i) the total range of collocations (also cf. Table II);
- (ii) the frequency of 'usual' and 'unusual' lexical environment of these items;
- (iii) the degrees of variation.

<sup>1</sup>A novel Untouchable by M.R. Anand, London, 1935.



15. 6.1. TABLE I: SHOWING DEGREES OF INDIANNESS OR

'CASTENESS' OF CERTAIN ITEMS

Item	total fre- quency	usual collocations (i.e. as in BE)		unusual collocations (i.e. special IE collocations)		% of Indian- ness
		frequency	%	frequency	%	
<u>caste</u>	99	-	-	99	100	100
<u>defile</u>	20	-	-	20	100	100
<u>high</u>	9	2	22.22	7	77.78	77.78
<u>highest</u>	2	1	50.0	1	50.0	50.0
<u>low</u>	12	5	41.66	7	58.34	58.34
<u>lowest</u>	3	2	66.66	1	33.34	33.34
<u>out</u>	42	18	42.85	24	57.15	57.15
<u>pollute</u>	35	-	-	35	100	100
<u>touch</u>	84	15	17.9	69	82.1	82.1
<u>upper</u>	2	1	50.0	1	50.0	50.0

15. 6.2. TABLE II: SHOWING INDIANNESS OF COLLOCATIONS

Item	Total occurrences	Single items	fre- quen- cy	2 item collo- cations	fre- quen- cy	3 item collo- cations	fre- quen- cy
<u>Caste</u>	94	<u>casts</u>	4	<u>-distinction</u>	1	<u>fellow out-</u>	1
				<u>-feeling</u>	1		
		<u>castes</u>	2	<u>grass-cutter-</u>	1	<u>high-men</u>	2
		<u>caste</u> <u>as Q</u>	1	<u>high-</u>	7	<u>high-Hindu</u>	3
				<u>-Hindu</u>	6	<u>high-people</u>	2
				<u>highest-</u>	1	<u>low-boys</u>	1
				<u>low-</u>	7	<u>low-vermin</u>	1
				<u>-less</u>	2	<u>low-man</u>	2
				<u>lowest-</u>	1	<u>out-colony</u>	16
				<u>out-</u>	24	<u>out-street</u>	4
				<u>upper-</u>	1		
				<u>-well</u>	1	<u>out-ancestors</u>	1
						<u>out-books</u>	1



15. 7.0. IE and Indian religions: The political, social and religious attitudes of the two major Indian communities - Hindu and Muslim - have also been transferred to IE writings.

As the item caste has become basic for the caste collocations, the term communal has, practically, the same status in Hindu-Muslim relations.<sup>1</sup>

15. 7.1. The item communallism is used with the suffixes -ism (BJ 7.6.59) and -ist (1001 Nights 140) which are used in a restricted context in IE. The range of collocability of communal is entirely different in IE from what it is in BE. The formations with the item communal form both OSW and LS, a few examples are given below:

communal attitude (L, 9.4.61), communal bodies (IN, 8.7.61), communal disturbance (L, 26.3.61), communal distinctions (1001 Nights 139), communal labels (1001 Nights 141), communal parties (L, 26.3.61), communal reaction (L, 26.3.61), communal press (L, 26.3.61), communal trend (HS, 1.7.6), communally named (L, 9.4.61).<sup>2</sup>

15. 7.2. The reference to any kind of clashes between the religious communities<sup>3</sup> is made by the formation communal riots (V of G 84) or riots (1001 Nights 121). The item riot in fact means any disturbance of a communal nature. A communal leader

<sup>1</sup>In OED and other lexicons of English, the extended Indian meaning is invariably included.

<sup>2</sup>Other formations commonly used are, communal leader, communal passion.

<sup>3</sup>Usually Hindus and Muslims.

is not one who represents a 'commune' in the Chinese sense; it is one who believes in, what is called in India, the two nation theory.

The above items are perhaps restricted to the register of politics. These political and religious differences appeared in other social roles like eating, marriage, and speech-functions such as modes of reference/address (cf. <sup>14. 14.0.</sup> ) greetings (cf. <sup>14. 18.0.</sup> ). In the relationship of two religious groups in eating we have forms like inter-dine, separate-eating, (Kanth 51), cow-eater (V of G 124), cow beef eater (F of F 157), forbidden meat (MM 31), and in social relations, inter-marriage (MM 11).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This form is also used for marriages between two castes, but is less frequent for, what we call, International marriages, that is, a marriage between an Indian and a foreigner.



## 16. INDIAN ENGLISH IN INDIAN SOCIAL ROLES

16. 1.0. By the use of IE in Indian social roles, we mean the use of English for social co-operation in a C2.

When an L2 is spoken and/or written in 'different'<sup>1</sup> CSs, there is a kind of "shift". This shift results from the use of a different social and cultural 'grid' on the language.

16. 1.1. We will try to investigate how the social and cultural 'grids' of India have been transferred to IE, and to what extent we can relate the formal exponents with some CSs of India.

16. 2.0. In treating the social roles separately in this section, we are not creating a dichotomy between -

- (i) the speech-functions;
- (ii) the restricted-languages; and
- (iii) the social roles of a language.

The above (i) and (ii) are equally functional and social as (iii). This division is attempted only for classificatory convenience and to show -

- (i) that social roles are more general than SFs;
- (ii) that social roles do not include socially determined repetitive events<sup>2</sup>;
- (iii) that social roles are not finite in the same sense as the SFs can be.<sup>3</sup>

16. 2.1. In 'demarcating' language according to social roles, we have followed the earlier procedure of dividing the context into

<sup>1</sup>That is CSs other than those which belong to the L1, C1, speakers/writers of the language.

<sup>2</sup>In this chapter.

<sup>3</sup>The social roles may, however, be used as a covering term to include SFs. (cf. Chapter 14).

CSs, and establishing parallel exponents at one or more formal levels. The formal exponents may or may not deviate from BE.<sup>1</sup>

16. 3.0. The 'dividing' points for CSs, in the social roles are, perhaps, arbitrary, since the boundries of one 'piece' of activity are integrated with the boundries of another 'piece' of activity. This is arbitrary in the same sense as segmentation of one 'bit' of language from another 'bit'.

16. 3.1. In social roles our CSs would, then, be those 'bits' (or pieces) of activity which are under our focus of attention. On the renewal of connection of the formal levels, with the CSs, the IE text shows how the English language is used in a different context.

16. 3.2. We have discussed the following social roles:

1. Ceremonies and rituals,
2. dress and ornaments,
3. food and food habits,
4. marriage,
5. politics.<sup>2</sup>

16. 4.0. Ceremonies and rituals: Religious or social ceremonies (and rituals) are an essential part of Indian social or religious life, and to a large extent the individual or group-behaviour of person/s is determined by them. From one's birth to death, there are ceremonies related to the different stages of the growth of an

<sup>1</sup>A parallel example of contextually determined deviation can again be given from Australia, where the Australianness of the language is conditioned by the different environments in which the language is used. See S. J. Baker, A Popular Dictionary of Australian Slang, "If they (Australian writers) are to write about that environment they will have to know something of the language of Australia." p.3.

<sup>2</sup>We have discussed these contexts in the chapter on hybridization, but in that section only 'mixed' formations have been included. In the following pages, we have included both hybrid and non-hybrid formations.



individual. These, of course, differ from such ceremonies in English culture. The formal exponents for such ceremonies may either be transferred from Lls or 'new' collocations of English lexical items may be created. We have divided these ceremonies into two:

(i) Individual, and

(ii) Social.

#### 16. 4.1. Individual:

<u>hair cutting ceremony</u> (Kanth, 56)	<u>hair ceremony</u> (Kanth, 28)
<u>invitation-rice</u> (Kanth, 173)	<u>naming ceremony</u> (NS, 160)
<u>rice-eating ceremony</u> (Kanth, 171)	<u>rice-initiation ceremony</u> (SMH, 30)
<u>schooling-ceremony</u> (FE, 106)	<u>seventh month ceremony</u> (Kanth, 37)
<u>turmeric ceremony</u> (MM, 70)	

#### 16. 4.2. Social:

<u>aroti-time</u> <sup>1</sup> (He Who, 207)	<u>- ceremony</u> (He Who, 113)
<u>asirvad ceremony</u> (MM, 115)	<u>bhajan-song</u> (SMH, 17)
<u>bath-milk</u> (He Who, 130)	<u>brother-anointing ceremony</u> (He Who, 160)
<u>car-festival</u> (OR, 15.7.59)	<u>evening puja</u> (He Who, 170)
<u>initiation-ceremony</u> (S & R, 48)	<u>invitation-rice</u> (Kanth, 173)
<u>mela-festival</u> (Hit, 28.12.59)	<u>mela-ground</u> (HS, 11. 6.59)
<u>milk-bath</u> (He Who, 124)	<u>procession throne</u> (Kanth, 2 3)
<u>puja-day</u> (S of D, 45) - <u>festival</u> (ABP, 28.10.59)	<u>- offering</u> (He Who, 127)
<u>ploughing-ceremony</u> (F of F, 88)	<u>- time</u> (He Who, 205)
<u>satyanarayana procession</u> (Kanth, 240)	<u>rain-bringing ritual</u> (F of F, 88)
<u>shagan ceremony</u> (BH, 124)	<u>sankrati fair</u> (Hit, 28.12.59)

<sup>1</sup>This is also spelt as arati.

thousand-and-eight flames ceremony    upanayanam-ceremony (S & R, 323)

(Kanth, 142)

vinayaka-festival (EI, 21)

worship-chamber (MM, 140)

yagna ceremony (He Who, 113)

- fire (

16. 4.3.    Dress and Ornaments: The following formations refer to clothing or objects related to dress and ornaments:

ankle-bells (TP, 37)

anklet-bells (1000 Nights, 50)

angrezi-clothes (C, 257)

choli-piece (S & R, 58)

cotton-sari (R & H, 153)

- pyjamas (Hat A, 139)

coolie-hat (SIF, 95)

dholi-fold (S & R, 151)

formal achkan (S of J, 106)

glass-choorie (He Who, 211)

himru-jacket (S & R, 344)

jibba pocket (WM, 19)

khaki-uniform (AD, 24)

nose-pendant (S & R, 34)

- screw ( N in S, 10 )

pashmina-shawl (DD, 207)

- jacket (H at A, 173)

- robe (H at A, 176)

sari-border (R & H, 40)

- clad (SMH, 1)

- fringe (S & R, 12)

- dhoti (C, 221)

saffron-sari (S & R, 27)

silk-tonga (FE, 185)

solar-topee, (V of G, 10)

upper-cloth (FE, 115)

waist-band (S & R, 163)

- chain (MM, 73)

- thread (He Who, 190)

16. 4.4.    Food and eating habits: The food one eats, and the manner of eating is often a clue to one's culture and, perhaps, religion. In IE fiction, the delineation of food and eating habits help us to identify the persons involved in a situation, their religious background, the part of India they come from, and their



social status.

16. 4.5. In social roles it will be useful if we treat certain units as contextual items (cf. 15. 4.0.). A contextual item, in this case, would then be, one or more formal items, the meaning - other than pure lexical - of which is entirely determined by the context. We have taken a few excerpts to illustrate this point.

(a) "she pulled a dining-leaf out of the bundle in the kitchen rack, spread it on the floor.." (WM, 84)

(b) "called for coffee... brought in brass tumblers... poured it back and forth... forth and back in the perpetual concertina motion." (DD,

The above (a) is contextually parallel to, what in the English society would be, she took a plate and laid it on the table. In this case, then, there is unintelligibility of two types for L1 and C1 speakers/writers of English. First, the sets that fill the structure of collocations are not usual, and second, this CS is absent in BE, hence, the contextual-unintelligibility too. The 'unintelligibility' at these two levels may leave the following 'meanings' uncomprehended:

- (i) that the person is from the south of India, (because dining leaves are not usually used in the north of India).
- (ii) that it is a middle-class orthodox Hindu speaking about a conventional household.<sup>1</sup>

16. 4.6. In (b) coffee... brass tumblers...; coffee... poured forth... and back, are 'uncommon' collocations, used for creating what is termed in literary terminology, 'local colour'. Persons

<sup>1</sup>The contextual unintelligibility is of the same nature as we have discussed in the section on the caste in IE. (cf. Chapter 15).

knowing South of India will immediately relate poured forth and back with that part of India.

The other formations used in this context are:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <u>angrezi sweets</u> ( <u>C</u> , 36)           | - <u>teapot</u> ( <u>BH</u> , 76)             |
| <u>akallu-paddy</u> ( <u>M</u> , 1.1.59)         | <u>basangi-paddy</u> ( <u>M</u> , 1.1.59)     |
| <u>betel-bag</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> , 31)            | - <u>leaves</u> ( <u>MRS</u> , 54)            |
| - <u>woman</u> ( <u>SMH</u> , 158)               | <u>burning-ghee</u> ( <u>B of A</u> , 66)     |
| <u>brahmin-restaurant</u> ( <u>SIF</u> , 161)    | <u>charas-smuggler</u> ( <u>R</u> , 12.6.59)  |
| <u>coconut paysam</u> ( <u>AD</u> , 8)           | <u>double-roti</u> ( <u>C</u> , 171)          |
| <u>dhal-mixture</u> ( <u>N in S</u> , 195)       | - <u>soup</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> , 43)            |
| - <u>water</u> ( <u>S &amp; R</u> , 245)         | <u>dining-leaf</u> ( <u>WM</u> , 84)          |
| <u>dung-cake</u> ( <u>SMH</u> , 68)              | <u>eating-house</u> ( <u>F of F</u> , 18)     |
| - <u>leaves</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> , 57)             | <u>fuel-cake</u> ( <u>Un</u> , 13)            |
| <u>ghee-fried</u> ( <u>He Who</u> , 205)         | - <u>flavoured</u> ( <u>WM</u> , 144)         |
| <u>gram-khir</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> , 43)            | - <u>curry</u> ( <u>BH</u> , 38)              |
| <u>leaf-bag</u> ( <u>C</u> , 149)                | - <u>pot</u> ( <u>C</u> , 66)                 |
| - <u>plate</u> ( <u>MM</u> , 93)                 | <u>paan-making</u> ( <u>RH</u> , 160)         |
| - <u>shop</u> ( <u>DD</u> , 25)                  | - <u>stall</u> ( <u>RH</u> , 80)              |
| <u>pheni-dinner</u> ( <u>S &amp; R</u> , 277)    | - <u>potato-bonda</u> ( <u>WM</u> , 222)      |
| <u>sherbet-dealer</u> ( <u>BH</u> , 34)          | <u>sonamukhi-rice</u> ( <u>SMH</u> , 77)      |
| <u>toddy-pot</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> , 194)           | <u>vermicelli paysam</u> ( <u>Kanth</u> , 18) |
| <u>wheat-chuppaties</u> ( <u>R &amp; H</u> , 19) |   |

16. 4.7. Marriage: The formations in the context of marriage can be grouped into the following:

- (i) the geographical area;
- (ii) the social classes and status;
- (iii) social attitudes towards widows.



The formations, basar-room (MM, 73), basar-chamber (MM, 85), baran-rites (MM, 98), flower-bed (MM, 105) etc. are geographically determined, in the sense that these forms are frequent, in the context of marriage in Bengal and parts of Bihar. They are regionally determined since they will not be used in Maharashtra or Kashmir.

In marriage the class or status is involved in a broader sense; it is a matter of attitudes to the relationship, for example, the following sentences show how this attitude is reflected in the language:

- (i) They can't be all right if they have kept the girl unmarried till sixteen (BA)
- (ii) ... if the stars and other things about the girl are all right. (BA)
- (iii) Old mother went on, "can the tongue relish rice and fish, can the eyelids close in peace while there is a maiden daughter in the house" (MM)

In (i) and (ii) all right and sixteen are the two clues, which are to be analyzed at the contextual level, since these forms are basically linked with Indian culture. All right has social, economic and moral connotations. And (iii) involves, social and religious implications.

16. 4.8. The other aspects of marriage have been classified as

- (i) the ceremony, and
- (ii) objects related to marriage.

16. 4.9. The ceremony:

baran-rites (MM, 98)

bridal-bath (MM, 68)

bride-showing (He Who, 158)

16. 4.10 Objects:

<u>basar chamber</u> (MM, 85)	- <u>room</u> (MM73)
<u>bridal-chamber</u> (S & R, 278)	- <u>path</u> (S & R, 100)
<u>flower-bed</u> (MM, 105)	<u>kumkum-mark</u> (Kanth, 159)
- <u>box</u> (S & R, 63)	<u>Match-maker</u> (B of A, 79) <sup>1</sup>
<u>marriage-drums</u> (DD, 29)	- <u>festival</u> (SMH, 17)
- <u>music</u> (SIF, 73)	- <u>season</u> (DD, 25)
- <u>mark</u> (SMH, 163)	- <u>month</u> (SIF, 50)
<u>wedding-bangle</u> (RH, 158)	- <u>house</u> (FE, 49)
- <u>trip</u> , (RH, 130)	

16. 5.0. In Hindu society, there is a special attitude towards widows. This attitude is 'unEnglish' in the sense that like the caste-system, it is a CS of India. The modifiers of the item widow are collocationally Indian, e.g.

<u>bangled widow</u> (Kanth, 233) <sup>2</sup>	<u>dirty</u> - (C of B, 16)
<u>ill-boding</u> - (C of B, 16)	<u>shaven</u> - (Kanth, 17)

16. 6.0. In IE the problem is not of 'redefining' items in the register of politics.<sup>3</sup> What interests us here is, the lexical items and other formations, which have 'specific' meanings in IE political writings. The IE political formations evolved, after the political-struggle was revived under Gandhi's leadership, and with the inception of IE journalism and other political writings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Chandran's parents sent for Ganapathi Sastrigal, who was match-maker in general to a few important families in Malgudi." (B of A, 79)

<sup>2</sup>An ironical expression.

<sup>3</sup>The terms like democracy, dictatorship need two sets of definitions; one in the American sense and another in the Russian sense. See Weldon, T. D. The Vocabulary of Politics, Penguin, 1953.

<sup>4</sup>A very interesting study of the language of politics in India can be made from the speeches delivered in the Indian National Congress sessions and the political writings of the Indian leaders. We are her merely attempting to touch this aspect of IE.



16. 6.1. Formations related to Gandhi: The three basic lexical items, which are used in Gandhian political contexts are:

ahimsa, satyagraha, and khadi or khaddar. These have been borrowed, not only in IE, but also in BE. These three give us the following lexical sets, which incidentally are OSWs also.

<u>ahimsa camp</u> (	<u>leader</u> (
<u>soldier</u> (WM, 78)	- <u>sweeper</u> (Un, 218)
<u>ashram disciple</u> (MM, 82)	- <u>camp</u> (WM, 82)
<u>khadiboard</u> (SL, 8. 6.59)	- <u>clad</u> (SL, 6. 6.59)
- <u>competition</u> (WM, 97)	- <u>coat</u> (Kanth, 148)
- <u>cloth</u> (Kanth, 109)	- <u>shop</u> (Kanth, 135)
<u>khaddar clad</u> (1000 Nights, 14)	- <u>jibba</u> (WM, 44)
- <u>sari</u> (WM, 48)	<u>satyagraha campaign</u> (BJ, 7. 6.59)
- <u>movement</u> (SMH, 73)	
(and <u>field-satyagraha</u> (Kanth, 240))	
<u>satyagraha</u> is usually translated into English as <u>non-co-operation</u> . <sup>1</sup>	
<u>salt-march</u> (RH, 36)	<u>salt-laws</u> (H at A, 55 )

Salt-making (H at A, 35) are related with Gandhi's campaign for removing salt-tax in India. Swadeshi-movement, swadeshi-cloth (Un.208) are also linked with the campaign for khaddar.

16. 6.2. In connection with (i) the village-parties/politics, (ii) trade-unions, and (iii) other societies, the following hybrid and non-hybrid formations are used:

<u>congress panchayar Committee</u>	<u>congress Panchayar</u> (Kanth, 18 )
(Kanth, 119)	<u>Dehati Janta Party</u> (SL,15.6.59)
<u>Grain gola Committee</u> (OR,15.7.59)	<u>Gramsahayak Refresher Course</u> ,
<u>kisan-candidate</u> (V of G, 13)	(Hit, 28.12.59)

<sup>1</sup>This, incidentally, is not the correct "translation" of the item. Satya is truth, and agraha demand, which does not mean what non-co-operation means.

17. 1.0. The preceding sections on what we have termed "Indian English" are brief preliminary surveys of different aspects of a language-contact situation. In this study we do not claim more than an attempt to raise certain theoretical problems, to suggest how they may be approached, and to draw attention to some 'un-English' contexts in which the English language is functioning in India.

17. 1.1. What we have been trying to do is to draw from Indian English sources the illustrative material for suggesting how linguistic theory (and methodology) may be extended to the study of the non-formal linguistic aspects of language. And more important, how formal and non-formal statements may be integrated<sup>1</sup> - if necessary. This was basic to our approach because, at the outset, we stressed the interdependence of form and (contextual) function.

17. 1.2. In terms of the source material (i.e., IE text) we had two initial problems. The first was that of choosing a starting-point in the time-dimension of over a century or more which IEW cover; the second was of selecting material from the various points on the Gline of bi-lingualism.

17. 2.0. In the historical sense IEW (in one form or the

<sup>1</sup>This does not imply that these two aspects (i.e. the formal and "functional" or contextual) cannot be treated as distinct. But we should repeat here that a linguistic statement about a non-formal linguistic aspect should necessarily be based on the form.



other) started with the beginnings in bi-lingualism in English and developed with the political and cultural impact of the English in India. With the political stabilization of the English in India, bi-lingualism in English manifested itself in all types of social, cultural, political and literary activities. This was (as we have maintained throughout this study) a contact of two diametrically different cultures, in addition to its being a contact of languages. This was a mutual give and take in the sense that Indian languages and culture were influenced by the English language and culture, and in return English language and thought were influenced by the languages and thought of India.

17. 2.1. On the one hand the Minute of 1835 (cf. 1. 6.0.) ushered in an era of Western influence on India, and on the other hand the transmission of Sanskrit and Indian thought to the West beginning with the famous paper by Sir William Jones in 1786,<sup>1</sup> attracted serious Western scholars to India for linguistic and philosophical studies.

17. 3.0. In terms of material we restricted our investigation to what we term Standard Indian English. This includes the English of those Indians who speak/write English as L2 and who range above the Central point on the Cline of bi-lingualism.

17. 4.0. The aim, then, was to investigate IE as a language

<sup>1</sup>See Firth Papers p.165. "There is no doubt that Sir William Jones and Sanskrit were the active sources of stimulus for new developments in general linguistics and phonetics both in Europe and America."

operating in a foreign culture, and linguistic setting, and mark how the socio-linguistic factors of India have influenced the formal features of Indian English. In other words, to ascertain whether there are parallel formal exponents for Indian contextual 'exponents'; and what types of deviations they have from BE. This meant treating context as a relevant linguistic level.

17. 4.1. The 'comparison' and 'isolation' of contexts raised certain theoretical and procedural problems. If we treat context as a congruent (inter) level of analysis, what body of theory of contextual analysis and comparison could be used as basic in this study? The choice was restricted to the work of Firth and Pike (cf. chapter 6) since only these two linguists have seriously thought in this direction. In this study we have followed and adopted Firth's ideas, in order to develop the concept of contextualization in linguistics. On the procedural side we had to adopt certain specific methods which we have discussed in chapters 5 and 8.

17. 4.2. The analysis proceeded, firstly, on the view that varieties of a language can be recognized in terms of operation or contexts, and any contextual statement should be verifiable and justifiable from the formal exponents. In our view it is not possible to give any specific linguistic statement in terms of contexts unless languages are 'restricted' in terms of functions. (This functional grouping, of course, should be justified on the formal basis.) A formal statement may be



about the (inter) level of phonology, or the levels of grammar and lexis.<sup>1</sup> These may be about a language as a whole, or about 'demarcated' parts of a language. These demarcated parts would be, what we term, RLs, registers, and speech-functions. (cf. 5. 5.1.). Speech-functions are distinct from RLs and registers in the sense that they are socially determined, repetitive speech-events, and may be abstracted from register and/or RLs.

17. 4.3. A formal statement may be based on all the levels (which includes lexis) or only on one level. The methodology of phonology and grammar are, by their nature, capable of leading to rigorous formal statements; the problem arises when we come to the lexical level. Linguists have been reluctant to consider a lexical statement to be of the same power as a phonological or a grammatical statement. The main reason is, perhaps, that lexis, by nature, is 'open' and this makes it less susceptible (at this stage anyway) to the type of statement which can be made about phonology and grammar, which are 'closed-system' levels.

17. 4.4. In IEW we realized that in certain cases statements about RL, register (or speech-functions) can be made only at the lexical level. Having to seek a criterion for such statements, we used Firth's category of "collocation" (cf. 5. 9.0.)

<sup>1</sup>The levels do not, of course, operate independently as features of a language, they are separated in the analysis of a language for convenience of description.

as basic, and proceeded from it towards formalization of lexis in terms of lexical sets and ordered series of words. A lexical set may be abstracted on contextual criteria in relation to contextual sectors, and an ordered series of words on formal criteria. In certain cases these two may overlap. (cf. 12. 2.3. and 12. 2.4.).

17. 4.5. The 'comparison' of lexis in two varieties of English in terms of collocations, lexical sets and ordered series of words has shown interesting deviations, namely:

- (i) that lexis also is prone to the influence of sub-stratums;
- (ii) that the influence of C1, and of the specific contexts, is more marked on lexis;
- (iii) that extension of lexical sets of L2 may be made on the analogy of those of L1.<sup>1</sup>

17. 5.0. In the earlier studies on bi-lingualism in English in India the influence of the sub-stratum and the transfer of C1 to L2 has been rather neglected. In this study the context of C1 has proved significant since the various uses of IE, especially in creative writing, make it essential for IE writers to use English for the delineation of C1 contextual sectors; this leads to 'special' uses of L2. In our sense, these are Indian 'uses' of English, and are to be linguistically explained as such.

17. 5.1. A literary text (for that matter any text), whether  
<sup>1</sup>cf. 9. 5.1.



IE or not, is basically a composition of formal items out of a restricted range of possible exponents at different levels. Any 'effect' (as used in literary criticism) in a text must arise from the use of language. Hence any statement about Indian social, cultural and political aspects of IE texts should ultimately be justified from the language-features.

17. 6.0. The formal deviations in IE become 'meaningful' when they are studied against the background of contextual differences. The question now is: is there a method of delimiting context in order to establish parallel 'areas' in RLs or registers? (cf. chapters 7 and 8). This raises certain terminological (and to some extent also theoretical) problems. Terminological in the sense that if phonological or grammatical terms are extended to context, there are obvious objections, some of them quite justified. For instance, we may abstract phonological or grammatical units, which are explicable in terms of the level under discussion, and may be established on the basis of formal contrast. We can not, however, have a parallel 'unit' in context of the same rigorous delimitation as we have in phonology and grammar.

17. 6.1. An RL is the first step towards such contextual demarcation of language. We had to ask ourselves whether we can abstract any 'bits' of contexts which may be established, as it were, as parallel to an RL or a register. This demarcation we thought was important in the functional view of language as opposed to a purely formal view. We proposed the

term 'contextual sectors' (cf. 8. 2.0.). These may be established on the basis of contextual substitution and textual substitution (cf. 8. 1.0.) (Firth's idea of contextual elimination may be found useful in this connection.<sup>1</sup>). The determining factors will be certain definable variables which we shall term 'contextual parameters'. (cf. 8. 2.0.). At the (inter) level of context the basic 'unit' then is a contextual sector and the distinctive features of a sector are contextual parameters.

17. 7.0. This aspect of linguistic theory, especially in relation to Firthian theory and its further elaboration, covers the first part of this study.

The second part, "On Description and Comparison" is subdivided into three sections, which may broadly be termed, grammatical comparison (cf. chapter 10), lexical studies (cf. chapters 11, 12, 13), and contextual statements (cf. chapters 14, 15, 16).

The grammatical deviations are of a statistical nature, in terms of relative frequencies, and could, perhaps, have been more interesting if we could have analyzed texts at different points on the Cline of bi-lingualism, especially at the ambilingual point (which we have done) and around the central point (cf. 1. 5.3.). Since our corpus comprised what may be named Standard Indian English, we restricted the analysis only to the upper point.

<sup>1</sup>cf. Papers p.32.



The influence of Indian languages on English has drawn the attention of writers from as early as 1788<sup>1</sup>. Their main aim however was to study the Indian borrowings in IE or BE: that is, the borrowing of single Indian lexical items in English.

The other aspects of borrowing are:

1. hybridization.
2. lexico-grammatical transference.

We have discussed these two aspects in chapters 12 and 13 respectively, but these studies are fragments of what could be detailed independent studies of these two aspects only. The studies of transference from different Indian languages need to be made by scholars belonging to different regions, since the variety of Indian languages makes it difficult, if not impossible, for one person to speak with competence about all Indian languages. We have chosen from the corpus only a few examples of an aspect which surely deserves an exclusive survey.

The last three sections are specially devoted to showing how Indian cultural, social and religious contexts have been transferred to IE. These studies are selected and restricted. They are selected in the sense that they represent only a few of the social roles out of many in which the English language

<sup>1</sup>Indian Vocabulary to which is prefixed the Forms of Impeachment. 12. M.O. Stockdale, 1788 (p.136). Reference in HJ p.xxviii. It is interesting to note that up to 1885, when G.C. Whitworth published his Anglo-Indian Dictionary, about 21 glossaries had appeared. In 1886, the first edition of Hobson-Jobson was published.

is used in India.

17. 8.0. In conclusion, we hope, this study indicates that it is not only at the phonological level that IE is 'transparent', but that the English language has acquired an Indian characteristic, which manifests itself at all the levels, the determining factor of this 'Indianness' being the Indian setting. Indian English has ramifications in Indian culture (which includes languages) and is used in India towards maintaining appropriate Indian patterns of life, culture, and education. This in short is what we might call the Indianness of Indian English, as opposed to the Englishness of English.



## APPENDIX I

(Reference : Introduction, 1. 6.7.)

Statement showing languages in use in the High Courts/Judicial Commissioners' Courts and Subordinate Courts.

Sr. No.	Name of State	Languages used in High Courts/Judicial Commissioners' Courts	Languages used in Subordinate Courts
1	2	3	4
Part 'A' States			
1	Andhra	English	Court language is Telugu. Both English and Telugu are used in proceedings. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in English.
2	Assam	English	Court language is English for all purposes. Assamese is used in proceedings in Courts in districts of Kamrup, Nowgong Sibsagar and Lakhimpur ; and Bengali in the district of Cachar. Both Assamese and Bengali are used in Goalpara.
3	Bihar	English	Court language is Hindi. Bengali has been retained as additional Court language in Sadr A Sub-division of Manbhum and Sadr, Pakur, Rajmahal and Jamatra Sub-divisions of Santhal Parganas district. Proceedings are in regional languages. Judgements and Orders are in English. Decrees are both in English and Hindi.
4	Bombay	English	Proceedings are in regional languages, viz. Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada and, in Bombay City, in English. Judgements and orders are in English. Decrees are in regional languages and, in Bombay City, in English.

1	2	3	4
5	Madhya Pradesh	English	Court languages are Hindi and Marathi. English is generally used for Judgements, Decrees and Orders ; also for recording of charge against accused, charge to jury, deposition of medical and other expert witnesses.
6	Madras	English	Court languages are the regional languages, viz. Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telugu except in Madras City where it is English. Both English and regional languages are used in proceedings. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in English.
7	Orissa	English	Both English and Oriya are used in proceedings.
8	Punjab	English	Court language is Urdu. Both English and Urdu are used in proceedings. Majority of Judgements and Orders are in English and Decrees usually in Urdu.
9	Uttar Pradesh	English	Court language is Hindi. Hindi is used in proceedings. Judgements and Orders are in English. Decrees are in Hindi.
10	West Bengal	English	Both English and Bengali (the latter more universally) are used in proceedings. Judgements and Orders are in English, and Decrees both in English and Bengali.

#### Part 'B' States

11	Hyderabad	Urdu, except for Judgements, Decrees and Orders which are in English.	Court languages are the regional languages, viz., Telugu, Marathi, Kannada and Urdu. Proceedings are in English and regional languages. Judgements and Orders are in English.
----	-----------	---	---



1	2	3	4
12	Jammu and Kashmir	English	Proceedings are recorded in Urdu or English.
13	Madhya Bharat	Hindi, except for Judgements, Decrees and Orders which are in English.	Court language is Hindi. Hindi is used in proceedings. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in Hindi except Judgements of Courts of District and Sessions Judges in cases relating to offences punishable with death or imprisonment for life or in suits the value of which is Rs. 20,000 or more and in cases in which an important question of law is involved and which is likely to go to the Supreme Court, which are in English.
14	Mysore	English	Court language is English. Both English and regional language, Kannada, are used in proceedings. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in English.
15	PEPSU	Hindi and Punjabi, except for Judgements, Decrees and Orders which are in English.	Court languages are Hindi and Punjabi, the regional languages. Proceedings are usually in regional languages. Judgements, Orders and Decrees are generally in English.
16	Rajasthan	Hindi except for Judgements, Decrees and Orders, which are in English.	Court language is Hindi. Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgements, Orders and Decrees are in Hindi except those of District and Sessions Judges and Civil and Additional Judges which are in English. Decrees and formal orders are in Hindi.

1	2	3	4
17	Saurashtra	English	Proceedings are generally in Gujarati. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are generally in Gujarati, except in Courts of District and Sessions Judges and Assistant and Additional Sessions Judges which are generally in English.
18	Travancore-Cochin	Malayalam except for Judgements, Decrees and Orders which are in English.	Court languages are the regional languages, Malayalam and Tamil. The regional languages are used in proceedings. Judgements and Orders are in English. Decrees are invariably in Malayalam.

#### Part 'C' States

19	Ajmer	English	Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in English.
20	Bhopal	English	Both English and Hindi are used in proceedings. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in English. Hony. Magistrates sometimes use Urdu.
21	Coorg	English	Both English and Kannada are used in proceedings.
22	Delhi	English	Court language is Urdu. Hindi is additional Court language. English, Urdu and Hindi are used in proceedings. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in English.
23	Himachal Pradesh	English	Court language is English. Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are generally in English, except that some Magistrates write Judgements and Orders in Hindi.



1	2	3	4
24	Kutch	Gujerati, except for Judgements, Decrees and Orders which are in English.	Proceedings are in Gujarati. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in Gujarati, except that Judgements and Orders of District and Sessions Courts are in English.
25	Manipur	English and Manipuri. English for Judgements, Orders and Decrees.	Manipuri is mostly used in proceedings. Judgements, Orders and Decrees are in English.
26	Tripura	English	English is the language of Courts of District and Sessions Judges and of Subordinate and Assistant Sessions Judges. Bengali, the regional language, is used in all Civil Courts. Both Bengali and English are used in writing Judgements, Orders and Proceedings as also in the transactions of other business in the Courts of Senior Deputy Magistrates and all other Magistrates. Only English is used in the Courts of District Magistrates and Additional District Magistrates.
27	Vindhya Pradesh	Hindi, except for Judgements, Orders and Decrees which are in English.	Court language is Hindi. Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgements, Decrees and Orders are in Hindi.

#### Part 'D' Territories

28	Andaman and Nicobar Islands.	Court language is English, but, village and tehsil levels, Urdu is being used for certain purposes.
----	------------------------------	---

NOTE: Judicial Commissioners' Courts exist only in Part 'C' States of Ajmer, Bhopal, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh. There is no such court in the Part 'D' territories.

Prepared on the basis of the information furnished by the different High Courts and the Courts of the Judicial Commissioners in the country. (cf. Report of the Official Language Commission, 1957)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography includes all works referred to in the text as well as some additional references. The texts used as corpus for IE analysis have already been listed in 1. 2.1.

The items have been sub-grouped into the following sections:

- A. General Linguistics;
- B. Applied Linguistics (including studies on different varieties of English);
- C. Bi-lingualism;
- D. Socio-linguistics;
- E. Indian English and related works;
- F. Theses; Dissertations;
- G. Official Publications; Reports;
- H. Dictionaries; Bibliographies.



## A. General Linguistics

- Allen, W.S. 1953. Phonetics in Ancient India, A guide to the Appreciation of the earliest Phoneticians. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1951. "Phonetics and Comparative Linguistics," Archivum Linguisticum, Vol. 3.
- . 1953. "Relationship in Comparative Linguistics," TPS.
- . 1956. "Structure and System in the Abaza Verbal Complex," TPS.
- Bazell, C.E. 1953. Linguistic Form. Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi.
- . 1958. Linguistic Typology. Inaugural Lecture, delivered on 26 February 1958, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
- Bloomfield, L. 1935. Language. London.
- . 1955. The Linguistic Aspects of Science. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bloch, B., and Trager, G.L. 1942. Outline of Linguistic Analysis. Baltimore.
- Brough, J. 1953. "Some Indian Theories of Meaning," TPS.
- Bursill-Hall, G.L. "Level Analysis: J.R. Firth's Theories of Linguistic Analysis," JCLA/RACL, Vol. VI, Nos. 2, 3.
- Chomsky, N. The Transformational basis of Syntax. (Mimeographed).
- . 1957. Syntactic Structures. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton and Company.
- . 1955. "Semantic Considerations in Grammar," Report of the Sixth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, pp.141-58.
- Chavarría-Aguilar, O.L. 1954. Lectures in Linguistics. Deccan College, Poona.
- Ellis, J. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Linguists. London.
- . 1957. "On Comparative Linguistics," Etudes Mladenov, Sofia.
- . 1958. "General Linguistics and Comparative Philology," Lingua, Vol. VII.
- . 1961. "Some Problems in Comparative Linguistics," Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society, Vol. No. 7.
- Firth, J.R. 1930. Speech. London: Benn Limited.
- . 1937. The Tongues of Men. London: Watts and Co.
- . 1957. "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955," Studies in Linguistics. (Special publication of the Philological Society).
- . 1957. Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 19.8.1959. "The Treatment of Language in General Linguistics," The Medical Press.
- Haas, W. 1954. "On Defining Linguistic Units," TPS.



- Harris, Z.S. 1947. Methods in Structural Linguistics. The University of Chicago Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1955. "Some Aspects of Systemic Description and Comparison in Grammatical Analysis," Studies in Linguistics. (Philological Society Publication).
- , 1959. The Language of the Chinese "Secret History of The Mongols". (Publication No. XVII of the Philological Society). Oxford: Blackwell.
- , 1961. "Categories of the Theory of Grammar," Word, Vol. 17.
- Hockett, C.F. 1941. "A System of Descriptive Phonology," Language.
- , 1956. "Idiom-formation," For Roman Jakobson. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton and Company.
- , 1958. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: Macmillan.
- Hjelmslev, L. 1928. Principes de grammaire generale. Copenhagen.
- , tr. by Whitfield, F.J. Prolegomena to a Theory of Language. IJAL supplement, Vol. 19.
- Hill, A. 1958. An Introduction to Linguistic Structures; from Sound to Sentence in English. New York.
- Kelkar, A.R. 1959. "The Category of Case in Marathi - A Study in Method," Indian Linguistics.
- Lees, R.B. On "Description". (Mimeographed).
- McIntosh, A. Patterns and Ranges. (Mimeographed).
- Meillet, A. 1926. Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Generale. Paris.
- Mitchell, T.F. 1958. "Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis," TPS.
- Palmer, F.R. 1958. "Linguistic Hierarchy," Lingua, Vol. VII.3
- , 1958. "Comparative Statement and Ethiopian Semitic," TPS.
- Pike, K. 1955. "Meaning and Hypostasis," Report of the Sixth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, pp.134-41.
- , 1960. Parts I, II, and III. Language in relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour. Glendale, Calif.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Pedersen, H. 1931. Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century. Harvard.
- Read, A.W. 1955. "A Discrimination among Synonyms of the Word 'Meaning'," Report of the Sixth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, pp.123-34.
- Reid, T.B.W. 1958. "Linguistics, Structuralism and Philology," Archivum Linguisticum, Vol. 8.
- Robins, R.H. 1952. "Noun and Verb in Universal Grammar," Language, Vol. 28, 3.
- , 1952-53. "A Problem in the Statement of Meaning," Lingua, Vol. 3.



- Trager, G.L. and Smith Jr, H.L. 1957. An Outline of Linguistic Structure. Washington.
- Udall, H.J. "On the Preparation of a Text," Archivum Linguisticum, Vol. 11, Fasc. 1.
- Ullmann, Stephen. 1957. The Principles of Semantics, A Linguistic Approach to Meaning. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wells, Rulon S. 1954. "Meaning and Use," Word, 10.
- Welmers, W.E. 1947. "Hints from Morphology for Phonemic Analysis," Studies in Linguistics.
- Whatmough, J. 1956. Language: A Modern Synthesis. New York.

B. Applied Linguistics (including studies on different varieties of English).

- Abercrombie, D. 1956. Problems and Principles. Longmans.
- Baker, S.J. 1945. The Australian Language: An Examination of the English Language and English speech, as used in Australia, from convict days to the present, with special reference to the growth of indigenous idiom and its use by Australian writers. Sydney and London.
- Ball, A.M. 1939. Compounding in the English Language. New York.
- Bull, W.E. 1960. Time, Tense, and the Verb: A Study in Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, with particular attention to Spanish. University of California Press.
- Catford, J.C. 1959. "The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language," The Teaching of English. London.
- , "Applied Linguistics in the Teaching of English as a Second Language," Anglo-American Conference on English Teaching Abroad. Cambridge: (Mimeographed).
- , 1961. English Grammar. Washington, D.C. (Mimeographed)
- Fries, C.C. 1957. The Structure of English. London.
- French, F.G. 1949. Common Errors in English: their cause, prevention and cure. London.
- Hill, L.A. 1959. "Pronunciation Difficulties of Hindi Speakers learning English," Teaching English, Vol. VI, No. 1.
- , 1957. "Compounds and the Practical Teacher," English Language Teaching, Vol. XII, No. 1.
- Jespersen, O. 1954. A Modern English Grammar. London: Allen & Unwin, Part VI.
- Joos, M. 1960. "The Isolation of Styles," Report of the Tenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching. Washington, D.C.
- Lees, R.B. 1960. "The Grammar of English Nominalizations," IJAL (supplement).
- Mencken, H.L. 1945. The American Language. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Newman, S.S. 1946. "On the Stress Patterns of English," Word.
- Quirk, R. (Ed.) 1959. The Teaching of English, Studies in Communication, 3. London: Secker & Warburg.



### C. Bi-lingualism

- Bossard, J.H.S. 1945. "The Bilingual Individual as a Person - Linguistic Identification with Status," American Sociological Review, 10, pp.690-709.
- Christophersen, P. 1948. Bilingualism; an Inaugural Lecture delivered on Foundation Day, November 17th, 1948. London.
- Haugen, E. 1953. The Norwegian Language in America. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- 1954. "Bilingualism and Mixed Languages," Georgetown University Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics.
- 1950. "Problems of Bilingualism," Lingua, 2, pp.271-90.
- 1950. "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, 26, pp.210-31.
- Kolehainen, J.I. 1937. "The Finnicization of English in America," American Sociological Review, 2, pp.62-6.
- West, M. Michael, W. 1926. Bilingualism. Calcutta: Government of India.
- Roberts, M.H. 1939. "The Problem of the Hybrid Language," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 38, pp.23-41.
- Weinreich, U. 1953. Languages in Contact - Findings and Problems. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.
- 1957. "Functional Aspects of Indian Bilingualism," Word Vol. 13, No.2.

# D. Socio-linguistics

- Bright, William. 1960. "Linguistic Change in Some Indian Caste Dialects" in "Linguistic Diversity in South East Asia," IJAL supplement.
- 1961. "A Study of Caste and Dialect in Mysore," Indian Linguistics, Vol. 21.
- Firth, J.R. 1957. "Ethnographic Analysis of Language," Man and Culture. London.
- Gumperz, J. 1958. "Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a North Indian Village," American Anthropologist.
- , and Ferguson. 1960. "Linguistic Diversity in South East Asia," IJAL supplement.
- Hill, T. 1958. "Institutional Linguistics," Orbis, Tome V, VII, No.2.
- Holjer, H. (Ed.) 1954. Language in Culture, Conference on the Interrelations of Language and other aspects of Culture. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis, M.M. 1948. Language in Society: the Linguistic Revolution and social change. New York: Social Science Publishers.
- MacCormack, W. 1960. "Social Dialects in Dharwar" in "Linguistic Diversity in South East Asia," IJAL supplement.
- Malinowski, B. "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages," Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism.
- 1935. Coral Gardens and Their Magic. Vol. 2.
- Mitchell, T.F. 1957. "The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: A Situational Statement," Hesperis.
- Ross, A.C. 1954. "Linguistic Class-Indicators in Present Day English," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen.



E. Indian English and related works

- Anand, M.R. 1948. The King Emperor's English. Bombay: Hind Kitabs.
- Basham, A.L. 1954. The Wonder That Was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the coming of the Muslim. London.
- Bhushan, V.N. (Ed.) 1945. The Moving Finger. Bombay.
- . 1945. The Peacock Lute. Bombay: Karnatak.
- Butter, P.H. 1960. English in India. Inaugural Lecture, The Queen's University of Belfast, 2 March 1960.
- Dustoor, P.E. 1954. "Wrong, Usurping and Dispossessed Articles in Indian English," University of Allahabad Studies.
- . 1954. "Missing and Intrusive Articles in Indian English," University of Allahabad Studies.
- . Dominion Status in Language. (Talk from the Lucknow station of All India Radio and published in the University of Allahabad Magazine). (N.D.)
- . December 1956. Presidential Address delivered at the Seventh Session of the All-India English Teachers' Conference. Dharwar.
- Goffin, R.C. Some Notes on Indian English. S.P.E. Tract No.XLI.
- Hunt, C. (ND). Honoured Sir by Babuji. London.
- . 1935. Babujee Writes Home. London.
- Iyengar, K.R.S. 1945. The Indian Contribution to English. Bombay.
- Jha, A.N. 1940. Address at Conference of English Professors, Playwrights and Critics. Lucknow.
- Kelkar, A.R. 1957. "Marathi English - A Study in Foreign Accent," Word. Vol. 13, No.2.
- Lahiri, K.C. 1956. "Peculiarities in Spoken English of Indians and the Question of a Standard for them," The Research Bulletin (Arts) of the University of the Punjab. No. XIX (III).
- Mathai, S. 1951. "The Position of English in India," British and American English Since 1900. London.
- Pearse-Smith, T.L.N. 1934. English Errors in Indian Schools. Bombay.
- Rao, G.S. 1954. Indian Words in English. London.
- Serjeantson, M.S. 1961. A History of Foreign Words in English. London.
- Srikantaiya, T.N. 1940. "English as the Kannadiga speaks it," The Bulletin of Phonetic Studies. No.1, October. (The University Phonetic Association, Mysore).
- Wadia, A.R. 1954. The Future of English in India, Asia. Bombay.
- Whitworth, G.C. 1932. Indian English. Lahore.



F. Theses; Dissertations

- Aronson, R.P. 1959. A Comparative Analysis of English Verb Usage in the Restricted Languages of Fiction and the Natural and Social Sciences as represented by three Contemporary written English Texts. Dissertation. Submitted for Diploma in Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh. Unpublished.
- Claxton, M.M. 1960. A Study of Nominal Group. Dissertation. Submitted for Diploma in Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh. Unpublished.
- ✓ Kachru, B.B. 1959. An Instrumental Phonetic Analysis of Some Prosodic Features of Indian English and Received Pronunciation. Dissertation. Submitted for Diploma in Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh. Unpublished.
- Passé, H.A. 1948. The English Language in Ceylon. Thesis, University of London. Unpublished.
- Seccombe, P.J. 1961. Styles of English encountered within the Register of Obstetrics and Gynaecology related to the Linguistic Problems of the Overseas Postgraduate Students. Dissertation. Submitted for Diploma in Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh. Unpublished.
- Ulatowska, H.K. 1959. A Comparison of Verb Forms in Polish and English in the Language of Medical Science and Fiction. Dissertation. Submitted for Diploma in Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh. Unpublished.



G. Official Publications: Reports

- Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India, 1960  
and 1961. New Delhi: Government of India.
- Census of India, 1931. New Delhi: Government of India.
- Edwards, Sir P. Statement Showing the Statistics of the  
Publications for the Year 1928. Bombay.
- Report of the Official Language Commission, 1957. New Delhi:  
Government of India Press.
- Report of the Press Commission, Part III 1959. New Delhi:  
Government of India Press.
- Selections from Educational Records 1781-1839.

## H. Dictionaries: Bibliographies

- Baker, S.J. 1943. A Popular Dictionary of Australian Slang.  
Sydney: Robertson and Mullens.
- Hotten, J.C. 1874. The Slang Dictionary. etymological,  
historical, and anecdotal. London: Chatto, 4th edition.
- Morris, E.E. 1898. Austral English. A Dictionary of Australasian  
Words, Phrases and Usages, etc. London.
- Partridge, E. 1949. A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional  
English. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 3rd edition.
- Spencer, D.M. 1960. Indian Fiction in English: an annotated  
bibliography. Philadelphia.
- Whitworth, G.C. 1885. An Anglo-Indian Dictionary. London.
- Wilson, H.H. 1855. A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms  
and of Useful Words occurring in Official Documents  
relating to the Administration of the Government of  
British India. London.
- Yule, N. and Burnell, A.C. 1903. Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary  
of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of  
Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical  
and Discursive. London.